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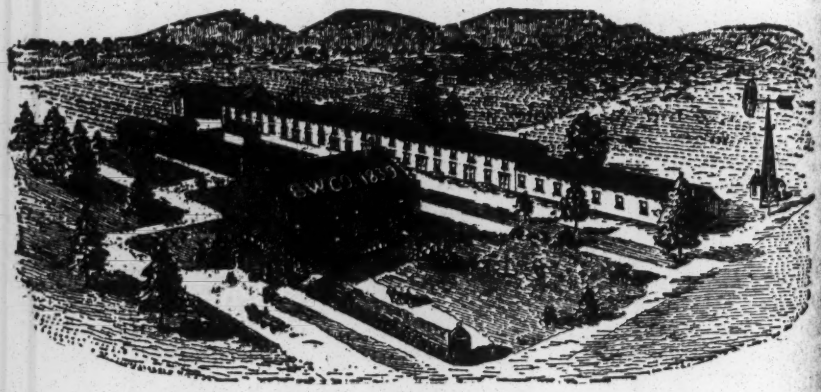

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THE
ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

VOLUME 109.—DECEMBER, 1943.—NO. 6.

THE MORALITY OF GAMBLING.

THE term gambling has a variety of meanings. In a wide sense it is sometimes used to signify any contract in which chance enters. Those who play the stock-market are sometimes called gamblers. One gambles when he secures life insurance or fire insurance. In the latter instance of course his intention is usually not to win, but the intention of the party does not change the nature of the contract. In the stricter sense gambling does not include insurance or stock-market speculation, but would include games, betting and lottery. It is in this sense that the term is used here. In the very strict sense it is gaming which is indulged in for stakes. Gambling is therefore something of a generic concept, verified in gambling or gaming in the strict sense, in lotteries and in mere betting, which is a contract by which two or more persons disagreeing about the truth of a proposition or the existence of a thing of which neither is certain, agree to contribute a definite sum, which upon the discovery of the truth is to be given to the one who is right or who was right. All the principles on gambling apply also to betting and two considerations have to be added. The object must be licit and secondly it must be doubtful.

The term gambling is therefore not the same as gaming. There is still another mark of distinction between the two. The term gambling necessarily includes the element of betting. There must be a wager or stakes of some nature in order to have gambling in the real sense of the word. Gambling then is any kind of chance or game of skill in which money stakes are involved. The word game is a much more general term, of which

gambling may be considered a species. While in its more restricted sense the word game requires the element of chance and of doubtful outcome it does not of necessity presuppose wagers or stakes. A baseball or a football contest can readily be had without gambling although wagering and betting can be and frequently are incidental features of these pastimes. The word game as a noun is defined in Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary as follows: 1. A contest for recreation or amusement; a jest; joke; or sport. While this definition might include gambling it is obvious that the two terms are not exactly synonymous. The common element is a contest indulged in for the sake of recreation. This element justifies both at times. Games or play or even gambling are ordered primarily to the pleasure of the mind or as a remedy against mental fatigue arising from serious occupation. For the reason that there is need for such relaxation, games of various kinds just as music, motion pictures and the like have a legitimate place in human affairs.

Nor can it be objected that this amusement and pleasure can be derived from games which involve no stakes. There can be no doubt that the risk, the danger of losing and the prospect of gain, add to the attraction of games which might otherwise be dull and uninteresting. In this connection it must be noted that Saint Alphonsus draws a sharp distinction between gaming and betting. It is his opinion that mere betting cannot regularly be excused from venial sin since the motive of licit recreation which justifies gambling in general is frequently absent in betting.

When used as a verb the term gaming takes on a meaning that is more frequently identified with that of the word gambling. It is defined in the above-mentioned dictionary as follows: " to lose or wager at play; gamble, to play a game especially a game of chance for a stake." Other definitions of the word game such as a plot or scheme or an object of pursuit are outside the scope of this paper. The same is true of the adjective game meaning courageous, unflinching, ready to fight. Sometimes the term includes both games of chance and games of skill. Sometimes it is restricted to games of chance only.

Gambling, then, is risking or wagering something of value on chance and as a general rule is looked upon with disfavor. This attitude is at times well founded and justified, not because of its

intrinsic nature but rather because of the obviously unjust and illicit practices that frequently accompany it. Obviously any effort to defend gambling from the moral view point in all its aspects is foredoomed to failure. On the other hand to condemn gambling in all its forms smacks of puritanism. Such a condemnation is founded on a false concept of human life that finds no room for pleasure but rather sentences man to a rather gloomy unattractive existence, which is foreign to the joy and happiness that should come from the legitimate use of creatures in the service of God in this life. The same attitude was manifest in the prohibition movement. Morally games of chance and intoxicating beverages have some things in common. A moderate use of both is perfectly legitimate but excess and extrinsic circumstances may readily render both wrong.

Now there is a species of gambling in which these circumstances are found more often than not. The professional gambler is not always free from injustice, deceit and force. Indeed in its pejoric sense gambling means professional play for money stakes, by men who are unscrupulous experts at so-called games of chance. Efforts of civil authorities to eliminate this kind of gambling are obviously justified and even necessary and they deserve the cooperation of all right-thinking people.

There is however a social game sponsored by various fraternal organizations, hospitals and other institutions and even at times by church groups, in which injustice, force, deceit and harm are practically non-existent. This modern version of gambling undertaken by these organizations and under their care and direction, has been carried on with a degree of advantage to many people and despite vigorous opposition on the part of others, notably but not exclusively non-catholics. Emphasis has been put on the disadvantages which are erroneously supposed to be ever present and the beneficial effects have been entirely disregarded. Many of the objections made against this innocent form of amusement are entirely unjustified. Yet the opprobrium that deservedly attaches to pernicious games of chance is at times indiscriminately laid at the door of games that are perfectly innocent in themselves. In some instances they have all been prohibited by law thus bringing social amusement and pleasure into disrepute and dishonor. This is doubly hard to understand when it is remembered that governments have gone

to the other extreme and actually promote games of chance, sharing in its profits, collecting license fees, thus giving encouragement to the practice of gambling.

Doubtless there are people who are sincerely convinced that gambling in all its forms is intrinsically wrong. In like manner they consider drinking, dancing and other forms of amusement as intrinsically wrong. Seemingly they are looked upon as immoral simply because they contain the element of amusement. Catholic moralists on the other hand are unanimous in their assertion that these forms of innocent recreation are not by their nature sinful. They are not particularly impressed by the undesirability of amusement any more than they are impressed by the desirability of pain and suffering. Amusement, pain and suffering are not ends in themselves but they are good or bad insofar as they lead us to God or turn us away from Him. It would be false to conclude from the foregoing that in the estimation of moralists all these things are essentially good. Dancing may be wrong if it leads to lust; drinking if it means drunkenness; gambling if it includes injustice or harm to oneself or one's family.

Gambling rightly is considered in the manuals of moral theology under the tract on justice. Like buying and selling, lending and insurance, gambling is a contract, an agreement by which rights are transferred from one person to another. Gambling is a bilateral, onerous contract, by which those engaging in the game or project agree that to the victor shall go the prize that all have contributed. It is an aleatory contract just as insurance and stock-market speculation in which gain or loss depends on some incertain event. The condemnation and censure that gambling has had to endure have not been quite so evident so far as the stock-market is concerned and practically non-existent in the contract of insurance. Thus gambling as well as insurance and speculation differs from other commutative contracts only in the special nature of their object, which instead of being something certain is only a probability or a hope more or less well founded in the subjective estimation of the contracting parties. Besides its own proper rules and regulations, gambling is therefore subject in the very nature of things to the principles governing contracts in general.

The determination of the winner in games of chance is sometimes the result of his superior skill; more frequently the element of luck enters and either by itself or in conjunction with the element of skill demonstrates the winner. In card games for instance skill is an important factor. In other games chance or luck predominates. In Bingo and in games that are played with dice or wheels only a minimum of skill is required and the outcome is almost entirely dependent on luck alone. When the players are few, the stakes are proportionately higher in relation to the amount of the prize. In this case and especially when both the prize and the stakes are large, the probability of winning assumes a more important aspect; the losses are proportionately greater and gain rather than recreation and solace of mind becomes the purpose. This type of gambling is more commercial than social in character and is more open to fraud and trickery and unjust means. This kind of gambling is more likely to lead to the evil effects that are so generally decried today.

When the players are many the amount each contributes is small in comparison with the prize. The probability of winning becomes less important since each player knows at the outset that his chances of winning are very small. Pleasure rather than gain is the motive for engaging in the contest, and far from indicating a spirit of avarice and love of money this kind of gambling manifests rather a spirit of generosity. Government lotteries could sometimes be placed in this category as well as certain social games carried on for religious and charitable purposes. The entire amount of the money contributed by those taking part is not returned to the winner, but a portion and sometimes a very large portion is retained for the charitable or public purpose for which the game is conducted. Since the participants are always aware of this fact no injury is done them. Indeed their contribution takes on partially the character of donation or even of almsgiving with some hope of gain, remote though it is.

While fraud and injustice are not necessarily excluded, in games carried on under responsible direction they can be more easily prevented or reduced to a minimum. This rather widespread social game, involving only small sums as stakes is much less likely to lead to the baneful results to which our attention

is constantly being called by those who oppose all kinds of gambling.

A game of chance of itself and exclusive of evil circumstances is licit and honest, for man needs rest and relaxation of mind as well as of body. A further proof of the liceity can be drawn from the social needs of man. It is therefore in moderation beneficial to man both as an individual and as a member of society.

However certain conditions are demanded in order that it be made licit. First of all since it is a free contract there must be equality among the players. All must have an equal hope of gain and an equal danger of loss provided of course that the stakes are equal. When the dexterity of one greatly exceeds that of the others, or where the element of chance favors one rather than the others, equality can still be established by varying the amount each contributes. To take advantage of novices is of course unjust. Secondly the game must involve no fraud or deceit as is obvious from the very nature of a contract. Marked cards, weighted dice, the arrangement of mechanical devices are evidently unjust in themselves and yet are quite general in professional circles. Thirdly all the players must have the free disposition of the thing of value they risk in the game. If the money used in gambling belongs to someone else or if it is necessary for the proper care of one's family or dependents the game is illicit. Not all devices are excluded under this condition. While it is illicit for instance to mark the cards, it would not be wrong to take advantage of some chance sign or mark of differentiation. To place one's self in a position to look at an opponent's cards or to have a representative to inform one of what the opponent holds or to deal unjustly are all obviously wrong. It would not be unjust to look at cards exposed through negligence, to fail to warn of mistakes or to simulate the fear of losing. All these are looked upon as legitimate devices and augment the dexterity of the player. Finally justice demands that those who engage in the game must do so freely and deliberately and not through duress or fear.

Gambling with another's money, if the player has no funds of his own renders the contract null and void and the player liable to restitution. Even in the event that he is the winner he has no right to the gain. If the player has funds of his own

by which he would be able to make good his losses, these conclusions do not obtain since the player assumes all the risk. Equivalently he is then playing with his own money. Large stakes are dangerous in themselves. They instigate the passion and love of gambling and lead to all manner of unjust and illicit practices. On the other hand if the player engages in the contract out of fear, the contract is valid since fear does not destroy the voluntary act. It is probable therefore that the winner can keep his gains until his opponent protests. The civil law at times provides no remedy for some of the injustices consequent upon games of chance. This does not eliminate the intrinsic injustice of such practices.

The circumstances of place and time, excessive indulgence, may also render illicit what of its nature in other circumstances and in moderation would be all right. Thus it would be wrong to make use of funds that charity requires should be reserved for other purposes or when there is scandal or danger of sin for others. Gambling too brings in its wake anger, enmity, love of gain, avarice.

When the foregoing conditions are not verified therefore gambling is illicit. Some theologians seem to distinguish between the morality of the act of gambling and that of the habit. There is in this instance as in drinking some justification for the distinction. While it is true that habits and acts are specified by the same object and thus there can be no intrinsic malice in the habit that is not in the act, yet when the evil is due to extrinsic circumstances, it is more likely to be present when a person indulges habitually in gambling than when he participates only on rare occasions. For this reason the habit of gambling should never be fostered. Just as even strong drink, taken at the right time and in moderation is not harmful but becomes so if indulged in too freely, so gambling if it is substituted for work as a means of livelihood or if it is looked upon as a source of wealth and support.

The fact that the gambler produces nothing, adds nothing to the wealth of the community is hardly a convincing argument. The same can be said of many kinds of human activity that are not looked upon with such disfavor. There is more validity to the argument that the gambler preys on society and frequently becomes a parasite and a public charge. It should be noted however that those who play the stock market do a great deal

more harm to society. In these transactions the economic order is disturbed, bringing suffering to many innocent people, bankruptcy and ruin to respectable families and hardship for the poor, especially when there is a rise in prices as a result of this inflationary activity, or when depression results when prices are driven down.

Gambling is wrong also if it is an occasion of sin such as quarreling, deceit, missing Mass. It is a practice that is hardly suited to clerics or to religious or to those whose dependents or creditors are thus put into jeopardy. To play with someone else who is liable to fall into any of the foregoing sins involves cooperation which usually is sinful.

In ecclesiastical legislation gambling was forbidden from the earliest days of the church. Clergy and lay people were forbidden under pain of excommunication and even degradation to indulge in games of chance. In the Council of Elvira there is a decree to the effect that anyone guilty of gambling could be restored to the communion of the faithful after one year if he repented. The fourth Lateran Council forbade clerics to play or even to be present at games of chance. Legislation was not restricted to games of chance. Reference is made to games of any nature especially those conducted in public. The earlier legislation was a great deal more severe than that which obtains today, possibly because of the danger of superstition. Severe penalties were inflicted. Today the laws govern only the clergy and the prohibition is not nearly so severe. The Council of Trent prescribed in general that clerics were to abstain from games which in the judgment of the Bishop were unlawful. Gambling is mentioned in Canon 138 as one of the things forbidden to clerics.

The first Council of Baltimore provided that clerics are not to indulge in unlawful games and to make use of even those that are lawful in moderation lest they give scandal. The second Council of Baltimore drew a distinction between games that can be indulged in by clerics for the sake of innocent recreation and others that are unsuitable to clerics even in private. Many things are forbidden to clerics in which lay people can reasonably engage. The dignity of the clerical state and not the degradation of gambling is the thought that modern ecclesiastical legislation should inculcate. A great deal of time can be lost

in this sort of activity, scandal readily results and the passion for gambling is easily fostered. In forbidding priests to indulge immoderately, the Synod of Maynooth (1900) urges them to strive by word and by example to persuade lay people to avoid it especially when the stakes are high.

The civil law has taken cognizance of the evil of gambling. In England it was the object of penal legislation in the time of Richard II. The gaming act of 1845 rendered all gambling contracts null and void. The act of 1892 invalidated any promise to pay a sum of money in the way of fees, commissions, rewards connected in any way with a contract rendered null and void by the previous act. At a recent date gambling establishments were still forbidden in England. A good example of the contrary point of view is had in the Irish Sweep Stakes. Gambling was encouraged in several sections of Germany before the Empire was established, when they were eliminated by Bismarck. In France laws against gambling date from 1838. Gambling was still allowed in some places in France notably Biaritz and Aix-les-Bains at the outbreak of the war and for small stakes elsewhere in France and Switzerland. The best example of toleration or rather outright promotion is of course Monte Carlo.

In the United States the laws on games of chance are not at all consistent. Some are very severe, others are not. In some states gambling is a criminal offence by statute. Like many other laws the laws on gambling differ widely in scope. Some forbid all games in which money can be won or lost, others only games of chance in the strict sense of the word. There has been some difficulty in legally defining gambling and in distinguishing in practice between acts that are definitely contrary to gambling laws and others which while somewhat questionable perhaps are still not so classed. It has been held that raffles, lotteries, games of cards are games of chance although in games of cards the element of skill is apparent. Bookmaking is forbidden expressly by statute in some states. Pari-mutuel machines are recognized as legal in many. Usually a bet or a wager is a necessary element in the offence. In some instances this is not required, but it is illegal to engage in games with certain people or in certain places. To engage in a billiard game

with the loser assuming the obligation of paying is not legally considered gambling.

Laws against gambling are comparatively recent in the United States, The practice was widespread and open until 1880. From 1881 to 1884 prosecutions and convictions were very numerous. Public opinion has of course been an important factor in the development of this legislation. It has also not been without its influence on the enforcement of existing laws. At times the connivance of public officials has been tolerated. However, organized efforts to secure laws for the suppression of this as well as other vices and to secure their enforcement have attained spasmodic success.

Sometimes not only gambling itself but also other acts such as keeping, frequenting or visiting a gambling house or to permit minors to visit them come within the scope of gambling laws in some states.

At times legislation has gone to the other extreme, not in the sense that it has ever approved of the actual evils consequent upon gambling, but in various countries it has promoted and encouraged gambling itself for the public welfare. Frequently lotteries are under the supervision and guarantee of the government, and the proceeds are used for public purposes. Almost all states have at some time or other employed lotteries as a means of revenue. In the minds of such legislators then gambling can hardly be looked upon as something essentially wrong. While these lotteries may be of advantage so far as replenishing the public treasury is concerned, it cannot be denied that they are usually accompanied by circumstances that are not so beneficial. The poor rather than the rich participate. A loss thus falls on a class least able to bear it, since in the nature of things a large portion of the funds contributed do not find their way back into the hands of the winners. The prospect, no matter how remote, of sudden great wealth, is not conducive to thrift or to the ambition to work. In France after the prohibition of lotteries an increase in the savings accounts in the banks of Paris was noted. The practice is defended on the grounds that besides providing an almost indispensable source of income it is also the lesser of two evils. The inclination to gamble is looked upon as irresistible or at least not widely resisted and if lotteries were not permitted the money of these people would be in-

vested in schemes that are less fairly conducted. The evils of gambling are thus diminished under this supervision and the public welfare advanced. In the United States in spite of the fact that they were denounced by protestant ministers and others as cheats and pillagers of the people, lotteries generally enjoyed a good reputation and were extensively in use throughout the country. They were authorized to provide for all sorts of public improvements, even for the building of churches and colleges, and were very popular in the eighteenth century. The history of lotteries in this country is therefore far from degrading.

There are two incidental points that are perhaps of some practical value and should be mentioned before bringing this paper to a close. Civil laws making gambling merely illicit do not invalidate the contract. Hence the winner can keep the money until ordered by judicial sentence to return it. On the other hand, the loser probably need not pay. If he has a right to recover, he has a right to keep. The second point has to do with betting. Since betting supposes a doubtful point or issue, the contract is invalid if one of the parties is certain. This is more probably true even if he warns the other party that he is certain. In neither case can he keep the money he has won unless the loser condones it out of generosity.

It would be wrong to urge the practice of gambling indiscriminately owing to the dangers involved. One cannot however escape the conviction that the opponents of gambling of all kinds involve themselves in numerous contradictions and not infrequently give evidence of bigotry and pride, and there are instances in which they have taken advantage of the occasion provided by gambling as an outlet for their anti-catholic and anti-democratic tendencies.

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THE NATIVITY : 1943 APPLICATION.

AS the ecclesiastical feasts glide annually into their cycles it is very easy to take them for granted or to be humdrum and stereotyped in their exposition. It is not unusual for us to presume that the people understand these feasts and are capable of applying their lessons to their lives. Indeed, it is very possible that we fool ourselves in regard to the popular grasp of the mystery.

Undoubtedly millions resist or throw off secular influences and march steadfastly toward the heavenly Jerusalem. But millions of others are captivated by Hollywood and Broadway.

Had we the courage to examine specifically into the influences that are actually molding both the young and the old, we might be shocked. It is possible that those in church on Christmas morning are momentarily thinking of the crib and of its inhabitant. But let us not be too sure that the Infant is holding their thoughts all during the day of Christmas.

The potentially powerful appeal of the crib is limited mainly to one day or to the octave. But day by day other appeals are absorbing both the young and the old. Take, for instance, the recent movie: *Heaven Can Wait*. Very subtly, even perhaps unbeknown to themselves, millions were pulled far away from heaven by that piece of artful photography. No thought there of " He shall save his people from their sins."

Everyone is acquainted with the fascination exerted on children and adults alike by the comics and the radio serials. Even on Christmas day the circle of followers will gather devotedly around Dick Tracy, the Phantom, Superman, Li'l Abner, Tillie the Toiler, Orphan Annie, Joe Palooka, or Blondie. One cannot say that this absorption has an entirely baneful influence. The point I make is the absorption, the interest aroused—so much so that the Christ-Child is quickly forgotten.

The fact is, of course, that people are incurably inclined to persons, and, inferentially, character is molded by the persons followed or admired or loved. " I like his philosophy ", remarked one adult when asked about a particular comic. Ad-

mittedly, not everyone is a hero worshipper. But the newspapers must find comics a paying proposition. Ours is the task of examining why children and likewise adults gorge themselves on the comic strips, or project themselves into the life of their favorite movie hero or heroine, or why so many of the young gave themselves over to Hitler or Mussolini or Lenin. Ours is the duty of understanding the fascination attached to such names as Churchill, Roosevelt, MacArthur or John L. Lewis.

Is not the much discussed " inferiority complex " a partial indication of the extent to which human beings want to be like this or that person? We talk truth, and dogma, and the Church, while all around us people are turning to persons. In fact, in these days of relativity we hear that morality is merely what the leading persons in the community make it to be.

Is there not hidden in the feast of the Nativity an answer and a solution to this situation that confronts us in 1943? Is not Christmas the time for us to ponder the wisdom of God? We may speak of the glory to God that was to accrue through the Incarnation, or the necessity of redemption. But we do not thereby exhaust the full purpose, the full intent of divine wisdom. God understands how people are drawn to persons. Infinite wisdom was at work in the fact that *God Became Man.*

To provide us with the true type of Person, God became Man. God gave us the incorruptible leader, the perfect Man, the new Adam in order to supply a human need. It was God's design that his Person might stir our imaginations and occupy our thoughts and arouse us to admiration and love and imitation. Why did Christ say: "Learn of Me ", if He did not intend that the qualities of His character, of His human nature were to be our preoccupation? The great Augustine stated the truth thus: " Men indeed were not able to see God in His nature; yet men should not place their hopes in man alone. What then was to be done? They ought not follow men; in fact, man who is able to be seen must not be followed; but God must be followed who could not be seen. In order, therefore, that there might be provided for man one who might be seen as man, and whom man might follow, God became man." [1]

The Nativity is the feast of the humanity of the Son of God. Some priests may prefer to stress the fact that this Infant is God,

[1] Migne, P.L. 39, Sermo CCCLXXI, col. 1660.

since denial of the divinity of Jesus is prevalent. But since God truly became Man why should we not take a cue from God and bring out the appealing human qualities of the humanity of Jesus? God has done His part. The attractiveness, the fascinations of the humanity of the Nazarene become our duty to stress. Especially since the thinking of our people is to such a degree filled with secular personages the attempt must be constant to make room for God's ideal of man in the inn of human imaginations. The human-interest side of the Nativity needs stressing by the preacher of the feast. Francis of Assisi supplies a better guide to us on Christmas than does Thomas Aquinas. God did not become a proposition, a thesis, a syllogism. The theses are necessary to preserve the full truth, but is not the picture of the Babe and later of the full-grown Man a like necessity, knowing the tendency of human beings to be captivated by human persons? God became one of us, even a helpless, dependent Infant, so that we might have a normal Child to present to the admiring faces of little children. Child clinics as well as Catholic homes must know of Him.

Christ, human and divine, needs presentation. It is not wise to stress always the divinity and to neglect the riches of His humanity. The people need not alone proofs of His divinity but likewise the masterful traits of His humanity. He is appreciated in a great degree in His suffering, yet by and large the people do not think of Him when they picture their ideal person. Some of this situation is our own fault because most of our own thinking and conversing is on secular persons. Roosevelt, Churchill, some movie actor or local leading light are discussed at table. But does the conversation there ever include a powerful description of Christ's integrity, Christ's honesty, Christ's courage, Christ's handling of men and women, Christ's commandingness, Christ's unique way of questioning, Christ's drawing power, Christ's prayerfulness, Christ's loyalty to His followers, Christ's indignation against injustice, Christ's obedience, Christ's respect for free will, Christ's power of holding everyone's attention in the audience, Christ's ability to tell a story, Christ's human touch and sympathy, Christ's reverence, Christ's refusal to become a cynic or to become soured, Christ's joy? What type of comment would Christ have made at the bombing of Rome? Only when the young and the old see Him

in His manner as He lived, as He mingled among men and allowed the crowds to push and press upon Him, can we hope to have them pay more attention to this God-given model than to secular characters.

Assuredly it is a herculean task to "put on the Lord Jesus Christ." St. Paul himself admitted the difficulties. Readers of Canon Sheehan's *Triumph of Failure* will recall the trials of the hero, Charlie Travers. But the Canon was pointing the way to us and there is much to gain even from the pondering of this passage from chapter XII of part two:

> Yes [Charlie continued] it is the grand secret told by God to the world. And, mind you, it is the one word that magnetizes men. In the beginning of my little mission I used to talk the common platitudes of virtue and honour, etc., and sometimes I think I used to make men's hearts leap up suddenly under some stirring sentence, only to fall back again when the stimulus ceased. But once I commenced to talk about Christ—I mean the Christ of the Gospels, the Christ of the Saints, the Christ of the martyrs—I held them in the palm of my hand. And what touched them most was what I used to call—I hope without irreverence—the *manliness* of Christ. How He held in His Hand His Father's thunders, and only touched with those awful fingers the sealed eyelids of the blind, or smoothed down the ringlets of little children; how power, and what power! went out from Him, and an atmosphere of Omnipotence floated around Him; and yet He suffered poor women to touch with their lips the hem of His garment, and with tears the very flesh of His feet; how meekly He reverenced the lowly; and how grandly He defied the strong ones and the mighty; how He never slandered or defamed, but rebuked the priests to their face and honoured them in their absence; how He chided and encouraged, rebuked and praised His poor followers, and then gave them all He possessed; the majesty of His looks, the grandeur of His silence, the sweetness and strength of His words—all, all told in the language of the Evangelists, without comment or explanation, touched some unseen chord in men's hearts, and sent them throbbing with new emotions of love and zeal.

Not in any short space of time did Charlie achieve that power. And not by one sermon alone can Christ be pictured. Advent could well be employed to lead the people into the field of expectancy in regard to the nature of Who is coming. Some

phase of His humanity could later be brought into each Sunday Gospel. But the Sunday Gospels do not contain many of the human character sketches of Christ and hence the priest must needs be efficient at adding two or three Gospel scenes into a unified picture of some trait of Jesus.

Certain types of spiritual literature have accustomed priests to concentrate on themselves, to examine their own consciences; and even when Scripture is used the bulk of attention is given to one's spiritual state. Other writers have been showing us that it is far better to concentrate on Christ, on the qualities of His character, to keep on seeing these traits at work in Him. If this latter method were followed then the priest would more readily lead the people into the same practice. True, we do tell the people to imitate Christ. But do the people know Him sufficiently well to visualize Him in their daily trials? In fact, we might well ask ourselves if we know the Christ of the Gospels. He will not be known by the people until He is presented by those who for the thousandth time have perused the Gospel sentences so that these sentences become merged into daily thoughts.

Mastery of Gospel thoughts is actually a life-long task because it implies practice in re-living the Christ-life. Only

> the personal effort to live the Gospel gives one an understanding of the Gospel . . . The Sacred writers are not silent about Christ's miracles . . . But their main concern was not the depicting of a life of spectacular achievement, but a life of intense feeling, thought, emotion and affection. They show us the humanity of Christ in its spiritual reactions to life's experiences. Christ's life in its actual historical aspect cannot be ours; but that life of His, in its inner aspect—in what passed in His heart, His imagination, in His soul and will, in contact with human circumstances—that, in a certain measure, can be shared by us and therefore can, in a true sense, be ours.[2]

Contrast is one effective means of assisting the people to visualize Jesus in this or that quality of His humanity. If we know well the formative influences actually molding the young, if we know their favorite movie hero or soldier or athlete, then by the mere mention of well-known words or phrases we gain attention in our sermons and immediately we can show that

[2] Leen, *In The Likeness of Christ*, xxiii.

Christ possesses what is admirable in the secular hero. We need not deride anyone, but by tact we can show how Jesus shines by contrast and is even more fascinating and appealing, for He never deceives anyone and never misunderstands. It is often for want of a proper presentation of Jesus that our people are unable to feel the attraction of His qualities. Once the people have a grip upon His character, once the instruction angle of approach to Him has kept pace with the sacramental approach, then He is His own appeal. Then one can contrast John Dewey's vagueness to Christ's clarity, and Mrs. Sanger's aberrations to Christ's sanity, and, as in the case of Peter, there will be no separation from Christ even though there be slips and mistakes. The purpose is to develop the habit of contrasting Christ's views with those imposed on us by secular leaders.

The very haste of this modern world of 1943 to discard the Nazarene should impel us the more to begin this Christmas to implant Him firmly in Catholic hearts.[3] The Infant is small indeed on Christmas day. Only divine love could condescend to such humility. *Non horruisti virginis uterum.* Who has the return-love and the courage to assist Him to replace superman in modern thinking?

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[3] " When one scrutinizes the figure of Jesus which emerges as the result of modern research, a common impression is that this is a small, meager Jesus." " Jesus in Modern Research ", by D. W. Riddle of Chicago University, *Journal of Religion*, XVII, 180.

THE DISPUTE OVER FRANCISCAN POVERTY, 1226-1318—II.

THE final decades of the thirteenth century were characterized by a rather evident falling off in the strict observance of Gospel poverty on the part of Franciscan friars. It was that which we noted at the close of our preceding paper. The relaxation was far from fatal, yet it elicited a protest destined to re-echo for years to come. Against the spirit of worldliness manifesting itself within the Order, a Spiritual faction rose once more to voice its opposition. This time the scene of the protest was the south of France. By 1290—the commencement of Gaufridi's generalate—the movement had grown to some proportions. In that year, according to the *Chronicle of the XXIV Generals*, "dominus Papa misit litteras dicto Generali fratri Raymondo ut contra quosdam [ageret] qui in provincia Provinciae schisma videbantur inducere, statum aliorum fratrum damnantes et se spiritualiores ceteris reputantes."[1]

It was the old story of a group thinking itself superior to its brethren, a group which found its strength in the leadership of a really remarkable friar. The soul of the party was Peter John Olivi.[2] Born about 1248 at Sérignan, in 1260, he became a postulant at Béziers. Later he studied at Paris and was thence called to act as a theologian on the commission charged by Pope Nicholas (1279) with the preparation of the bull *Exiit qui seminat*. Yet prior to that date, he had been summoned before his brethren, at Montpellier and Paris, to explain charges which had been brought against his teaching.[3] His theological opinions later gave serious dissatisfaction to the Church during the reigns of Popes Clement V and John XXII.[4]

[1] *Analecta Franciscana*, III, p. 420.

[2] The standard work on Olivi is that of Franz Ehrle: "Petrus Johannis Olivi, sein leben u. seine schriften," in *Archiv. f. Litteratur u. Kirchengeschichte*, III, pp. 409-552; to which must now be added Fr. Leo Amorós: "Series condemnationum et processuum contra doctrinam et sequaces P. I. Olivi," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 24, pp. 495-512.

[3] *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 24, pp. 502-503.

[4] Clement V: the bull "De Summa Trinitate" in H. Denziger: *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, # 480-483; John XXII: documents on the examination of Olivi's Postilla in Baluzius: *Miscellanea* (Paris, 1678), I, pp. 213-276.

During his lifetime, however, much of his fame rested upon his propagating the concept of an *usus pauper*. By that he meant such an employment of material things which would err, if err it did, on the side of rigorism and of poverty rather than on that of laxity. His was the contention that poverty to be genuine must include, besides the renouncing of all claim to earthly goods, their restricted and frugal use as well. " Dico quod usum pauperem," he said, " esse de integritate et substantia perfectionis evangelice; . . . non enim invenies aliquam paupertatem altissimo modo valere ad altissimam virtutum perfectionem, nisi ei adiungatur pauper usus." [5]

Yet even more important than his doctrine was his personality. He had the gift of setting fire to men's enthusiasm. Twelve years after he had died at Narbonne in 1298, Friar Ubertino da Casale could say of him to Pope Clement: " Unum tamen assero . . . quod inter fratres sollempnes ordines ipse mihi videbatur maioris sanctitatis et profunde scientie et magni zeli fidei et morum." [6]

It was against this man, or rather, against the faction which had grown up around him, for it was difficult to convict Olivi personally of overt preaching of rebellion, that the papal commission of 1290 was directed. For two years the General carried on his probings in the south of France, doing his utmost to bring the zealots into harmony with their more moderate brethren. At length, at Paris, during the Chapter General of 1292, formal charges were preferred against the Spiritual party. Olivi was cited to explain his views upon the *usus pauper*. He replied, as he ever did, " facta quadam distinctione "; he made a special effort to stress the concord of his concepts with those of the community; in the end, he departed as he had come, uncensored by his judges.[7]

Still the problem lingered on. The master, indeed, had escaped conviction, his followers were not quite so fortunate. Some were visited with penalties, others, similarly guilty, evaded the sentence that they merited. A note almost of exasperation creeps into the *Chronicle of the XXIV Generals* as it recalls

[5] *Archiv f. Litt. u. K.gesch.*, III, pp. 507-508.

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 88; cfr. also Baluzius, *Miscellanea*, I, pp. 206-207.

[7] *Analecta Franciscana*, III, p. 421; Fr. Laberge has edited three examples of Olivi's apologetic in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 28, pp. 115-155, 374-407; 29, pp. 98-141, 365-395.

these disciples of Olivi: " sequaces in doctrina . . . zelum nescio quem sine discretione habentes . . . quibus multa scandala sunt secuta." [8]

The French Spirituals, with all their spreading of discord within the Order and setting themselves up as superior to their brethren, had learned to defend their actions when called to task. To each complaint lodged against them they responded with a multitude of distinctions and countless subtleties. A bull of Pope Boniface VIII—*Ad Augmentum* (12 Nov. 1295) —strove to put an end to their cunning. Express permission was granted to the superiors in the Order to proceed with fitting measures against the trouble-makers, no regard being had for their sophistries, " rimulis et apicibus ipsis postpositis ".[9]

It is well to note that step of Boniface, for it indicates that in the eyes of one outside the Order there was much that was repellent in the maneuverings of the Spiritual friars. In a few years' time, Angelo il Clareno will be painting events in Provence as though they were a mighty persecution carried out by those who resented the zealots' censures upon their own lax ways. Olivi will assume the stature of a martyr, his disciples that of fellow-sufferers for true Franciscan rigor. " Virum sanctum Petrum Johannem . . . oppresserunt," Angelo will write, " persecuntur ipsum et omnes ipsius moribus et doctrine adherentes . . . tamquam scismaticos et hereticos et apostatas in moribus et fide." [10] Harshness there was in the repression worked by the community, yet more than a portion of it was due to the narrowness and intransigence manifest in the lives of the Spirituals.

With discord rumbling in Provence, Italy found her share of dissidence. Once more, Angelo and his companions became the center of attention. Since 1290, Armenia had been their refuge, but even there peace was not their destiny. Calumnies were spread against them and gossip was mouthed about and they turned their faces home. At home they met with little welcome. Friar Munaldo told them bluntly that the General would not see them. Angelo suspected he knew the reason.

[8] *Analecta Franciscana,* III, p. 422.

[9] *Bullarium Franciscanum,* IV, p. 371; cfr. *Arch. Fran. Hist.*, 24, pp. 504-505 for other measures of Boniface.

[10] *Epistola Excusatoria* in *Archiv. f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 533.

He was convinced " quod ipse prius plures fratres fornicatores reciperet et teneret in provincia quam nos duos." [11]

One man they knew would help them—the recently-elected Pontiff, St. Celestine V (July-December 1294). In him they had confidence. Jacopone da Todi's epistle reveals their expectations:

> Que farai, Pier da Morrone?—ei venuto al paragone
> Vederimo el lavorato—che en cella hai contemplato . . .
> Grand'è la tua degnitate—non è meno la tempestate
> Grand'è la varietate—che troverai en tua magione.[12]

So to the Pope they appealed. They asked to be absolved from their obedience to the Order, to form a religious community of their own. The Pontiff was most favorable. At first he wanted to incorporate them into his own congregation of the Celestines, but at length granted their request for complete autonomy. He gave them the title of *Fratres heremite promissam vitam et paupertatem in desertis servantes* and set them up independently of the Friars Minor. That must have fulfilled their fondest expectations. " Mandavit nobis omnibus diebus vite nostre," writes Angelo il Clareno, " iuxta voluntatem et mandatum sancti Francisci absque nomine fratrum minorum, servare fideliter et sincere et superaddere, si possemus, ad regulam et testamentum. Et absolvit nos coram omnibus ordinis vinculo." [13] They thought it best, soon after the permission was obtained, to get as far from the Curia as possible. It was to Greece that they retired to live the life of rigor for which so ardently they longed.[14]

Celestine resigned his pontificate on December 13, 1294. Two weeks later, at Naples, Benedict Gaetani became Boniface VIII. His first reactions were favorable towards the new community. On hearing charges brought against them, he said only: " Sinite eos, quia ipsi melius quam vos faciunt." [15]

Unfortunately, Boniface was plagued all through his reign by the spectre of illegality. The charge was thrown into his face

[11] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 525.

[12] Jacopone da Todi: *Le Laude* (ed. G. Ferri), LIV, p. 121.

[13] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 526.

[14] For the difficulties of the group in Greece cfr. D. L. Douie: *Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*, pp. 56-59.

[15] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 528.

that he was no true Pope, that he had usurped his place while Celestine was rightfully the claimant.[16] It made him fearful of the zealots and their faction. As early as October 1295, he had betrayed his anxiousness, and deposed Gaufridi from the generalate. No one knew the reason, but it was suspicioned that the Pontiff acted thus because the Minister " valde faveret iis qui ad arctiorem vitae normam aspirabant, iisque praesertim quos in Graeciam diximus abiise, atque hi insensi Bonifacio quod cum aliis magis adhaeserint Celestino quam sibi iisque consenserint qui illum potius quam hunc in sede desideraverint." [17]

Factually, there was a basis to the diffidence which the prelate nurtured. Not, indeed, that Angelo's hermits were themselves at fault; they seem to have accepted Boniface as rightful Pontiff, to have prayed for him daily and to have kept his name in their Masses.[18] But there were zealots still in Italy with other and quite different views. There were friars like Ubertino da Casale who thought the Pope an " angelus abyssi " and a " rex locustarum, qui occidit Christi spiritum ";[19] there were brethren of the stamp of Jacopone da Todi whose verses lashed most bitterly:

> Lucifero novello—a sedere en papato
> lengua de blasfemia—che'l mondo hai venenato,
> che non se trova spezie—bruttura de peccato,
> la' 've tu se' enfamato—vergogna è a proferire.[20]

Boniface had no way of learning that the hermits in Greece were of a different cast of mind.

Unhappily, the Grecian monks added to the Pope's suspicions. Soon after Boniface's accession, he had been forced to cancel all the favors granted by his predecessor, and proceeded to a reorganization of the Curia's business. On 8 April 1295, he took occasion to issue a decree in which that revocation was proclaimed.[21] Therein he made it evident that all grants of Celestine not presented for revalidation within a full year's time

16 For the charges against Boniface cfr. *T. S. R.* Boase: *Boniface VIII*, (London, 1933), pp. 159-185 and L. Tosti: *History of Pope Boniface VIII*, (Eng. tr., pp. 492-496).

17 Waddiing: *Anales Minorum*, II, p. 657.

18 *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 528.

19 Quoted by E. Knoth: *Ubertino von Casale*, p. 37.

20 Jacopone da Todi: *Le Laude* (ed. G. Ferri), LVIII, p. 129.

21 " Olim Celestinus Papa " in Digard-Faucon-Thomas-Fawtiere: *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, I, # 770, cc. 257-261.

would become *ipso facto* null and void.[22] Angelo's group may not have heard of the ruling. They failed to proffer their document for the necessary approval.[23] That could only raise new doubts in Boniface's mind as to the loyalty of the hermits. Before many months had passed, the Spiritual faction began to feel the Pope's displeasure. In the Fall of 1295, it was the brethren of Provence who evoked his censure. In May 1297, some friars in the Abruzzi were the subject of an inquiry.[24] Then, sometime in 1300, the Pontiff appointed the Patriarch of Constantinople to investigate the orthodoxy of Angelo's party in Greece; they, too, had been complained about at Rome.[25]

Seemingly, the hermits feared the Patriarch. When, at length, his excommunication had been fulminated, they lost no time in sending off a delegation to Pope Boniface himself.[26] But enemies detained them and they failed to reach their goal. Again, a second trial was made, but in the meantime, the Pontiff passed away. When Liberato da Macerata, the superior of the group, at last appeared in Perugia in July of 1304, even the successor to Boniface, Pope Benedict XI, lay upon his deathbed. So the problem lay unresolved.

The plight of the hermits who followed their superior to Italy was difficult in the extreme. They had settled in the south of the peninsula patiently to await developments. There, Liberato was told by the Dominican Inquisitor Thomas of Aversa: "Frater Liberate . . . iuro tibi . . . quod nunquam hominis unius pauperis fuerunt vendite carnes ita care sicut ego potui vendere tuas; sanguinem tuum biberent fratres, si bibere te possent."[27] After Liberato's death—he lived but two years upon coming home—Wadding records that his friars had to flee beyond the domains of the King of Naples "in quo tutum non erat amplius commorari . . . Rege adversante et Minorum sodalitio continuo sequente."[28]

[22] *Op. cit.*, cc. 260-261.

[23] Cfr. John XXII: "Sancta Romana" in Richter-Friedberg: *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, II, c. 1214.

[24] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, IV, pp. 435-436.

[25] Angelo's own summary of the charges is given in *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 522.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 530.

[27] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 531.

[28] Wadding: *Annales Minorum*, III, *ad annum* 1307, p. 59.

Other complications arose to plague the brotherhood. In 1305, the Papacy had withdrawn from Italy and set up its Court at Avignon. Henceforth the case of the hermits would devolve upon subordinate officials. For the time being, these had more pressing problems and it was not until 1308 or 1309 that the local authorities took time to look into the charges laid against the hermits. The matter was entrusted to Isnardus, Archbishop of Thebes, papal vicar for the diocese of Rome. Other judges were associated with him. Their verdict quite sustained the friars. Angelo il Clareno, chief of the group since Liberato's passing, must have thrilled at the sentence: " inventi fuerunt omnes esse fideles et catholici christiani." [29]

There was another band of Spirituals in Italy, however, of somewhat different stamp. They were the community of cenobites upon La Verna, scene of the stigmata of St. Francis. They were the recipients of a special favor from Pope Boniface VIII. In the year 1296, though he had expressly forbidden the frequent changing of dwelling-place which had begun to vex the Order, he had made particular exception for those " qui vitam duxerint eremiticam seu solitariam eligendam de majorum suorum licentia ".[30] They had his permission to continue as they had in the past, to change their cells as often as the spirit moved them. In 1304, they were joined by a visionary, Ubertino da Casale. A strange character was this friar. Despite repeated evidences of zeal for the Faith, he had been arranged before Benedict XI in Perugia upon charges of doctrinal error. But the townsfolk had pleaded for him, and he had been freed to cast in his lot with the brethren living on La Verna.

The memory of Francis and his vision of the Crucified upon the mountain played on Ubertino; within a year he had penned his *Arbor vitae crucifixae Jesu.* The content was poles apart from the mildness that was Francis. Rather was it stamped to the core with the thought of Joachim of Fiore as interpreted by Gerard di Borgo San Donnino some fifty years before.[31]

Like Joachim, Ubertino was plagued with a vision of the future, a future flushed with bitterness. He saw the dawn of a

29 *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 532.

30 " Cum ex eo " in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, IV, p. 424.

31 Callaey: *L'Idealisme Franciscain Spirituel au XIVe siècle. Etude sur Ubertin de Casale*, p. 67.

new age upon the horizon, an era wherein the Spiritual Church would come into its own. But it would have to be reared upon the shards of the old. There would have to be fought a battle to the death with the Monster of Rome, the Anti-Christ which sat but recently upon the papal throne in the persons of Boniface VIII and Benedict XI. Only when the Carnal Church, embodied in the usurping prelates, would have been swept away could the new dispensation come to issue. Seven ages he saw in the world's history; " with the close of the sixth and the destruction of the Great Whore of Babylon, there will come forth the revelation which Francis first forecast; then will commence the reviving of the Gospel-way of life, then will be fought the battle of the voluntarily poor against the Anti-Christ; . . . all the futile strivings of man's intellect will fade away, the earth, in its fullness, will be possessed by humankind, the old doctrines will no longer bind, for the Spirit of Christ will guide the Church into the plenitude of truth." [32]

That was heresy assuredly, and yet it was conceived after the decade-old ideal proposed by Spiritual friars for the rebirth of mortal man. It is this renewal of theorizing as to the mission of the Spirituals, this new insistence upon the part they must play in purging the community of the bad effects consequent upon the relaxation of poverty, probably more than anything else, which explains the next move in the drama.

When Angelo il Clareno's group had been absolved by the papal delegate, they departed from Italy and made their way into Provence. There, seemingly, they joined forces with the disciples of the Spiritual way of life who had persisted in their fealty to the principles of Peter John Olivi.[33] Once they had come together, they were conscious of their strength and of the power they possessed. They set themselves to blast the citadel of their less rigid brethren. Ten years later Pope John XXII wrote, " adiunctis sibi quampluribus de . . . provincia Provinciae et provincia Thusciae et aliis diversarum fratribus nationum, coram piae memoriae Clemente Papa V . . . diversas contra universitatem dicti ordinis proposuere querelas et quasi ipsi soli, ipsorumque complices, B. Francisci regulam et perspicacius intel-

[32] E. Knoth: *Ubertino von Casale, ein beitrag zur geschichte der Franziskaner an der wende des 13 u. 14 jahrhunderts*, p. 35.

[33] Wadding: *Annales Minorum*, III, *ad annum*, 1307, p. 59.

ligerent et efficacius adimplerent, notam actionis contrariae in universitatem praefati ordinis impie detorquebant." [34]

They had something more in mind than the mere censure of their fellows. Raymond of Fronsac, Procurator of the Order, upon whom much of the defense of the community at the Court of Pope Clement devolved, suggests in his *Collection of Acts* [35] that underneath this carping at the Order was the purpose to form a congregation of independent Spirituals and exalt Olivi's doctrine. " Ipsum ordinem scindere sunt conati," he says, " ut novum instituerent et seipsos alicuius multitudinis scismatice capita constituerent et doctrinam fratris Petri Johannis erroneam . . . autenticam redderent." [36]

At all events, the Spirituals capitalized upon the sympathy shown their cause by Arnold of Villanova, personal physician to the Royal House of Naples. They convinced him of the bad faith displayed by the majority in the Order, of the crimes which were committed against holy poverty, of the trials they themselves had to bear simply because of their devotion to the ideals of St. Francis. So impressed was Arnold that he secured the interest of his sovereign in the matter. Thus it came about that sometime in 1309 the Neapolitan monarch (Wadding, following Clareno, names Charles II; it is much more probable that he was Robert of Anjou, son to Charles, who was crowned at Avignon in August 1309) besought both the General of the Franciscans and Pope Clement on behalf of the Spiritual friars " ne tot persecutionibus illi pauculi fratres attererentur " and begged the Pontiff that he summon to Avignon the leaders of the faction who might point out " quid tollendum, quid mutandum, quidve immovendum in religione ut perfectius sanctum observaretur institutum." [37]

Clement realized, of course, that there was more at stake than a mere discussion over non-essentials. He was aware that were he to gather together representatives of the rival parties, he would bring down upon his head a hornets' nest. The *Chron-*

[34] " Gloriosam Ecclesiam " in *Bullarium Romanum,* IV, p. 262.

[35] Ehrle says of this collection: " Nächst der *Historia Tribulationum* des Fr. Angelo . . . ist meines erachtens für die geschichte der *magna disceptatio* kein schriftstück von grösserer bedeutung als die oben genannte Actensammlung." (*Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.,* III, p. 1.)

[36] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.,* III, p. 17.

[37] Wadding: *Annales Minorum,* III, *ad annum,* 1310, pp. 115-116.

icle of the XXIV Generals has but one term wherewith to brand the controversy; it was a " longa et scandalosa disceptatio de observantia regulae ".[38] Knowing the gravity of the situation, yet desiring to restore peace, the Pope sent out his summons. Raymond Gaufridi, Raymond of Gignac and Ubertino da Casale were called to be the advocates of the Spiritual cause, as Alexander of Alexandria, Gonsalvus (the General) and Raymond of Fronsac were later to function as champions of the community.[39] It is rather difficult to set a precise data to the papal mandate. The bull " Dudum ad apostolatus " of 14 April 1310 presupposes an earlier summons, for therein the Pope remarks that the Spiritual delegates are already at Avignon and that they have been cited " per litteras secretas ad nostram praesentiam ".[40] Probably late in 1309 Ubertino and his companions made their appearance at the papal residence.

In accord with the requests which had come to him, Clement meant to have the Spirituals' criticism of the state of affairs within the Order. He intended, too, to procure their suggestions toward removal of abuses. Four questions he put to them: whether there was a spirit of excessive liberty, whether they thought that the discipline of the Order had already collapsed, whether they themselves had been subjected to persecution, and finally, just what they thought of Peter John Olivi.

We have the report that Ubertino produced and which he handed to the Pontiff in 1310.[41] His comments upon the non-observance of poverty, of greatest interest to this paper, must have been based upon his own observation. Concerning the prescription which stated that the brethren were to be " uno ferculo contenti " at every meal, he remarked: " modo autem fiunt convivia nimis lauta et habenda de multis ferculis et vina cara et electa." [42] Of the habit which should have been of coarse material, he pointed out: " hodie est in facto quod fratres inflati alta plus quam humilia sapientes prohiberent in fratribus

[38] *Analecta Franciscana*, III, p. 457.

[39] There is a 14th century account of the proceedings under Clement V in the " Series condemnationum . . . P. I. Olivi,' in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 24, pp. 505-506; the editor refers to a longer exposition by Pou y Marti in *Estudios Franciscanos*, VII, pp. 332-339.

[40] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, p. 66.

[41] *Archiv. f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, III, pp. 51-89.

[42] *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

vilitatem habituum tanquam deformem et quasi dehonestatem." [43] (That, no doubt, was as much the lament of one who longed for the short type of garment affected by the Spirituals as it was a censure upon the use of over-rich materials). As to the regulations which so strictly forbade the employment of money, Ubertino complained: " quantum ad effectum et affectum, non video quod hodie de facto sit differentia inter nos et alios de receptione pecunie et ea expendenda." [44]

Feeling must have run high in both camps. By the Spring of 1310, Pope Clement thought it best to exempt the Spirituals from the jurisdiction of their Conventual superiors. Already they had begun to fear, " ex verisimilibus coniecturis, sibi magna pericula imminere a praelatibus et subditis ordinis ". [45] Meanwhile, the community pondered its reply. A full year passed, but at length it was done. The text was the work of both Raymond of Fronsac and Buonagrazia of Bergamo.[46] It was not at all an attempt to vindicate the practice of the Order in every detail, to paint the friars as living saints, but it did defend their basic soundness. On the question of poverty it maintained stoutly, "Ad illum autem quod dicunt in genere quod leditur paupertas in vita excessiva aliquorum, nisi semetipsos respitiant, dicere rebuerunt: quorum, et non vagari in talibus obiectione generali cum aliorum discrimine; quia quamvis ordini non sit datum confirmare fratres quod non possint peccare, constat tamen quod vigor ecclesiastice discipline in cohercendo delinquentes ita fortiter viget in ordine sicut unquam viguit." [47]

Thus for two years the controversy waged, protracted " altercationibus et alternis disceptationibus ".[48] Pope Clement spent himself in the attempt to patch up a peace between the factions. Years later, Ubertino da Casale recalled one occasion whereupon the Pontiff pleaded for unity, only to be met with Ubertino's remark that concord was impossible as long as the community persisted in regarding the Spiritual friars as heretics. Then it was

[43] *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

[44] *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

[45] " Dudum ad apostolatus " in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, p. 67.

[46] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, III, pp. 141-160; a later response of the community beginning: " Religiosi viri . . ." is edited by Chiappini in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, VII, pp. 654-675; VIII, pp. 56-80.

[47] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, III, p. 150.

[48] Wadding: *Annales Minorum*, III, *ad annum*, 1310, p. 119.

that the Holy Father spread his own mantle of orthodoxy over the accused: " Dicimus papaliter," he said, " quod per ea quae coram nobis dixistis vel allegavistis, vel alii contra vos, nullus debet haereticos vel defensores haeresum vos vocare, et ea quae de hac materia in nostris archivis continentur . . . totaliter delemus, et nolumus quod contra vos habeant aliquam roboris firmitatem." [49]

Ultimately, the problem found solution in the Council of Vienne which had commenced its sessions in October 1310. Though not summoned specifically to study the Franciscan question, the synod was not long sitting before the matter was given to it. On 5 May, 1312, in secret assembly, and then on the following day, at the last solemn gathering of the Council, the decision of the prelates was promulgated. They declared simply that the community's way of life, despite all that had been charged against it, was beyond censure from the Church.[50] They then added to the older pontifical interpretations of the Franciscan Rule a new constitution destined to assume special place amongst the great monuments of Seraphic literature, the decree " Exivi de Paradiso ".[51]

At first sight, it seems to confirm the contentions of the Spirituals and to prescribe their manner of living to the entire Order. There are a multitude of provisions which mirror the ideals for which both Gaufridi and Ubertino had fought so strenuously. " Declaramus," said the Fathers, " quod illud quod ponitur in regula de non habendo plures tunicas . . . de non portandis calceamentis . . . quod fratres vilibus induantur . . . haec . . . omnia sunt a fratribus tanquam obligatoria observanda." [52] ". . . quaestus omnis pecuniae ac oblationum pecuniarum receptio . . . haec omnia sunt eis simpliciter interdicta." [53] Significant, too, is the apparent canonizing of Olivi's teaching on the *usus pauper*: ". . . declarando dicimus quod fratres Minores ex professione suae regulae specialiter obligantur ad arctos usus seu pauperes qui in ipsorum regula continentur." [54]

[49] Baluzius, *Miscellanea*, I, p. 301.

[50] *Analecta Franciscana*, III, p. 459.

[51] Richter-Friedberg: *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, II, cc. 1193-120.

[52] *Op. cit.*, cc. 1194-5.

[53] C. 1196.

[54] C. 1199.

And yet with all that, the fundamental want of the Spirituals was not satisfied. The Council did not lift a finger in the matter of establishing an independent congregation within the larger Order. Even the minor concessions in their favor are not really as important as they appear. Time after time occurs, " quorum etiam ministrorum, custodum et guardianorum iudicio eodem modo reliquimus." [55] The ultimate decision on many things rested in the hands of the constituted authorities, the solution desired by the community. As Raymond of Fronsac discerned, it was the community, not the Spirituals, that came off the victor.[56]

Subsequent to the Council, a semblance of harmony came to the Order. Much was due to the labors of the Minister-General, Gonsalvus of Balboa (1304-1313). He had gained favor with both factions; with the community, for he was one of them, and with the Spirituals, because of the efforts he had expended at the Chapter in Padua in 1310. There many statutes were promulgated, aimed at laxities.[57]

Some friars refused to accept the decree of the Council and separated themselves from the mass of their brethren;[58] but they were a very small minority. It is probably accurate to hold with the *Chronicle of the XXIV Generals* that even the Spirituals who had assailed the community at the Court of Pope Clement, once the judgment was promulgated, " pro magna parte, iubente domino Papa, ad unitatem et obedientiam Ordinis redierunt." [59]

Yet with them the old longings for autonomy still lived. Outwardly they conformed to the Order, accepted the superiors who were given them and resided in monasteries which embraced both moderates and rigorists. Inwardly, there must have been a deal of discontent and sighing for houses of their own where the Spiritual ideal would reign unchallenged. Particularly in the south of France were those longings most articulate. It was in the Midi that the first outbreak came. The occasion was

[55] C. 1195, etc.

[56] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, III, p. 25.

[57] Wadding: *Annales Minorum*, III, *ad annum* 1310, p. 119.

[58] Cfr. " Prima Vita Clementis V," in Baluzius: *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium* (ed. Mollat), I, p. 20.

[59] *Analecta Franciscana*, III, p. 459.

a simultaneous vacancy in the Franciscan generalate and the Roman Pontificate. Pope Clement V died in April 1314. Not until August 1316 did John XXII ascend the papal throne. Within the Order, throughout the entire period from October 1314 to May 1316, the friars found themselves deprived of leadership.

In the absence of authority, it was natural that discontent come to issue. France still retained the memory of Peter John Olivi and the disciples who had gathered around him. They but awaited the knock of opportunity. At last it came. The chronicles are brief, but there is a world of happening packed within their record. It was in the province of Narbonne, before either the Papacy or the generalate had been filled, that " aliqui rebelles . . . iterum ab Ordinis unitate et obedientia recesserunt." Not content with insurrection, they forcibly occupied the friaries at Narbonne and Béziers, expelled their superiors and followers, and set up new prelates of their own. To make the break complete, they changed their costume, " reiectis habitibus communitatis Ordinis tanquam profanis et illicitis, habitus curtos et difformes contra superiorum suorum praecepta et arbitrium assumpserunt." [60]

Possibly the tension would have soon lessened were it not for the novel habit. That was a sign of something far more deep. It was an harkening back to the aspirations of an earlier generation of Spirituals whose similar behavior had been condemned at Narbonne in the year of the first Constitutions (1260). As there was neither Pope nor General to check them, they had free rein in adding to their numbers. Wadding affirms that before many months they had grown to one hundred and twenty. Curious is the attitude he assumes towards them. Their zeal and the sincerity of their love for poverty he admires, but on their disobedience and obstinacy he can bestow naught but censure.[61]

At length, however, John XXII assumed the tiara, and Michael of Cesena became Minister of the Minorites. Both took to heart the problem of Narbonne and its rumblings throughout the other provinces of the Order.

[60] *Op. cit.*, p. 469; cfr. the contemporary accounts of Fronsac in *Archiv f. Litt.u. K.gesch.*, III, pp. 26-27 and of the anonymous author published by Amorós in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 24, p. 508.

[61] Wadding: *Annales Minorum*, III, *ad annum* 1317, p. 185.

Pope John was settled at Avignon by October 1316. Soon thereafter he appointed Bertrand de Turre, provincial of Aquitaine, who had already begun proceedings against the Spirituals in his own territory,[62] to deal with the same problem upon a larger scale. He commanded " ut cum his suaviter et leniter ageret et a proprio ovili misellos errantes ad caulam revocaret." Seemingly, the legate attempted to follow out his mandate, but each demand he made was met by a curt " hoc ex illis unum esse in quibus superioribus non erat parendum." Finally, the rebels refused to pay him further heed; in the place of his delegated authority, they requested the jurisdiction of the Pope. He, they were sure, would be " melius informatus " than his commissioner.[63] The Pontiff acted promptly, for he saw that the appeal was a mechanism to blast his own efforts at pacification. On 27 April 1317, he instructed the local superior at Narbonne to gather the discontented friars and to command them, under excommunication, to appear at the papal court upon the tenth day after their citation.[64]

At the head of the group came the famed Bernard Délicieux. On 13 May they were brought before the Pope's consistory. There must have been very little that they were able to say in their own defense for " statim in consistorio mandavit dominus papa tunc aliquos ex rebellibus capi." [65] Some of them were then and there put in chains and held for future trial. Délicieux seems to have merited special treatment, for he was tried by himself. On 8 Dec. 1319, he was degraded from his orders and sentenced to life imprisonment. Death came to him in the following February, before he had learned of the papal approbation that had been given to his penalty.[66]

In the meantime, the Pontiff turned to the making of a decree which should prove definitive. The rebels had proclaimed that their shortened habits were the exact copy of the garment St. Francis had worn. They were bound, they said, to dress as he. Pope John saw the larger issue. The habit was but an inci-

[62] See the documents in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 16, pp. 323-355.

[63] Wadding: *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

[64] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, pp. 118-120.

[65] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, III, p. 29.

[66] The sentence of 8 Dec. is in Baluzius: *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium* (ed. Mollat), III, pp. 281-292; cfr. also the articles of Dmitrewski in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 17, pp. 183-218, 313-337, 457-488; 18, pp. 3-32.

dental. What was at stake was the competency of the authorities within the Order to decide upon all matters Franciscan. Either they or the rebels had to be sustained.

Prudent and clear came the Pope's decision in the bull "Quorundam exigit" of 7 Oct., 1317.[67] Coarseness of materials in the habit was all very well, but it was for the superiors, not the individual friars, to decide what was, or was not, the required texture. For the authorities alone the Pontiff vindicated the right "determinare . . . arbitrari atque praecipere"[68] upon such matters, and he added a reminder to the discontented of the importance he saw in the virtue of obedience.[69]

The bull dealt a death-blow to the Spiritual faction in France. It was, as Raymond of Fronsac observed, a "sententia diffinitiva precedentium questionum"; it was a judgment of the supreme authority in Christendom whereby "precipitur rebellibus ut ad Ordinis totalem obedientiam revertantur."[70] Not all the friars accepted the decision. Twenty-five were handed over to the Inquisitor Michael le Moine on 6 November, 1317.[71] Six months later, four of the group were burned at Marseilles, while another, one Bernard Aspa, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment.[72] Even amongst lay-folk there was some dissatisfaction. Here and there seculars arose who branded the Pope's action as heretical; claimed that those who followed him were members of the synagogue of Satan; saw themselves, and those with them who observed the "vitam Christi pauperem et humilem", as the only membership of the true Christian Church.[73]

All that was passing. As far as the juridical question went, the matter was closed. There were no longer two factions within the Order. France saw henceforth but one community, with moderates and zealots subject to the same superiors.

Italy, too, was to share the solution worked out at Avignon. Even while the French proceedings were pending, Pope John

[67] Richter-Friedberg: *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, II, cc. 1220-1224.

[68] *Op. cit.*, c. 1222.

[69] *Op. cit.*, c. 1223.

[70] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, III, p. 30.

[71] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, pp. 132-133.

[72] The original account of the process is in Baluzius, *Miscellanea*, I, pp. 198-211; its tone has been completely altered in the pages of H. C. Lea: *Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, III, pp. 71-74.

[73] Baluzius: *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium* (ed. Mollat), I, pp. 117-118.

had called the foremost of the Italian Spirituals, Ubertino da Casale, who had played such a large rôle in the discussion under Clement V, and Angelo il Clareno, recipient of Pope Celestine's favors years before and, more recently, chaplain to Cardinal Jacopo Colonna at Avignon. Ubertino was disposed of rapidly. He argued stoutly for his own position, his favouring of Olivi, his rigorist interpretation of the Rule. When he saw that he could no longer live as he had formerly, he preferred to change his order rather than his convictions, and petitioned John to allow him to don the Benedictine habit.[74] The Pontiff's consent, dated October 1, 1317,[75] has almost a sigh of relief to it. For the time, it was thought that Ubertino had ceased to plague Franciscan unity.[76]

Angelo, however, was of a different nature. Milder, more tolerant than his companion, he could not bring himself to personal peace by abandoning his brethren. He set about explaining his cause in the famed *Epistola Excusatoria* directed to Pope John.[77] Evidently, he was held in custody at Avignon once his hearing had commenced, for he wrote " in pace ex quo per vestrum sanctitatem detentus sum ".[78] Reverent and respectful was his attitude towards the Supreme Pontiff: " Summus vero pontifex et sacrum romane ecclesie collegium," he maintained, " pervertere homines in judicio semper ignoravit, sed liberavit pauperem a potente, pauperem cui non erat adiutor." [79] Yet there was an independence to him. Despite his humble asking for justice, he was quite aware that should the Curia treat him badly, " Deus ipse iudicet et requirat sanguinem animarum nostrarum de manibus vestris." [80] That consciousness of rectitude, patent throughout his letter, came from the decade-old Spiritual conviction that the way of life followed by the zealots was divine in origin. Angelo insisted upon the utter impossibility of his giving up the principles he had been taught.[81]

74 Wadding: *Annales Minorum*, III, *ad annum* 1317, p. 189.

75 The bull " Verbum attendentes " in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, V, p. 127.

76 For Ubertino's later history see Callaey: *L'Idealisme Franciscain Spirituel au XIVe siècle. Etude sur Ubertin de Casale*, pp. 219-258.

77 *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I (1885), pp. 521-533.

78 *Op. cit.*, p. 532.

79 P. 533.

80 P. 533.

81 P. 526.

Pope John pondered the problem for some time. No doubt he respected the sincerity of Angelo and his group, but there was too much at stake to permit them to continue as they were. There was the danger of unrestrained individualism if the hermits were allowed to separate themselves from the authorities of the Order, and there was the fear that, given autonomy, they would not be proof against the allure of heresy. Clearly, there was but one path open to the Pontiff. Fronsac records of him: " cassavit statum fraticellorum scilicet Angeli et Liberati et complicum eorumdem." [82]

On 30 December, 1317, the Holy Father promulgated his constitution *Sancta Romana.*[83] It is an equitable summing up of the question. Mention is made of the special grant of Pope Celestine establishing the hermits as a community separated from the Order. Stress is laid upon the numerous charges which have been heard against the orthodoxy of the group. At length the decision is given: " ritum et statum huiusmodi, non obstantibus praemissis eorum excusationibus, quas frivolas reputamus . . . nullius fuisse et esse decernimus firmitatis "; to that the Pope adds the express prohibition: " ne statum . . . huiusmodi ab ipsis assumptum sectentur ulterius, vel ipsum de novo assumere quoque modo praesumant." [84]

In a sense, *Sancta Romana* brings to a close the history of the Spirituals. Their pretensions are taken from them. They are commanded to return to the same obedience as that professed by the moderate brethren. Refusal, of course, is possible, but it bears the penalty of excommunication and ejection from the Order. Factually, small groups did choose this latter solution. Under the leadership of Henry of Cena, some preferred to leave their native hermitages and to take up life anew in Sicily. Quickly, the papal excommunication descended upon them in the constitution *Gloriosam Ecclesiam* of 23 January, 1318.[85]

What strikes one in the bull is the new attitude assumed towards these friars. They are no longer Franciscans; " ab obedientia et unitate dicti ordinis et praelatorum eius *totaliter* separantes," writes Pope John.[86] Dangerous they may be and her-

[82] *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, III, (1887), p. 28.

[83] Richter-Friedberg: *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, II, cc. 1213-1214.

[84] *Op cit.*, c. 1214.

[85] *Bullarium Romanum* (ed. Turin), IV, pp. 261-268.

[86] *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

etics, measures may be required against them, but they are not Franciscans. Their history, henceforth, has nothing to do with that of the Order. Their deeds are recorded not in the sagas of the sons of Francis but in the special narratives which deal with the Fraticelli.[87] The great dispute within the Order is at an end. One phase is done, another just beginning in the annals of the friars. "O gloriosa beati Francisci regula," Raymond of Fronsac writes in 1318, "margarita diu porcorum pedibus simulatorum scilicet fedis et tortuosis gressibus conculcata, nunc postquam canes et venefici ad ignes aut ad carceres extra sacratum huius sancte religionis atrium sunt eiecti, nimio nitore veritate fidei et regule elucidata rutilans in corona summi principis collocata." [88]

With "Sancta Romana" the question of poverty has been formally decided. It is the Order itself, in the person of its prelates, that is to interpret the Rule of Francis ever in the light of the great papal pronouncements. True, a new problem, that of the poverty of our Lord and His Apostles, is still to plague the friars, but it is a dogmatic, not a disciplinary question. It shows itself first in 1321, when our phase is already closed and done.[89]

The struggle over poverty had been fought and lost by the Spiritual faction. Those who were wise acknowledged their defeat and commenced life anew under their rightful superiors. Yet in later years many a worsted zealot undoubtedly felt in his heart that he and his party still lived in the sight of God; felt that in him and his fellows there was fulfilled, from day to day, the beautiful prayer that Francis himself had prayed towards the close of his mighty *Canticle of the Sun:*

Laudato si, mi Signore,
per quelli che perdonano per lo tuo amore
et sostennego infirmitate et tribulazione;
beati quelli chel sosterranno in pace
che da te, altissimo, sirano incoronati.

HENRY G. J. BECK.

Darlington, New Jersey.

87 For the distinction cfr. Vernet: art. "Fraticelles" in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, c. 771.

88 *Archiv. f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, III, p. 32.

89 *Archiv f. Litt.u.K.gesch.*, I, p. 511 and É. Gebhart: *L'Italie Mystique: Histoire de la Renaissance Religieuse au Moyen Âge*, pp. 185-186.

Studies and Conferences

Questions, the discussion of which is for the information of the general reader of the Department of Studies and Conferences, are answered in the order in which they reach us. The Editor cannot engage to reply to inquiries by private letter.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF "PROVIDENTISSIMUS DEUS".

Fifty years have elapsed since Pope Leo XIII issued his encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* on 18 November, 1893. This anniversary deserves to be commemorated for several reasons. Because the ensuing world-wide assent of Catholics to the doctrine of the encyclical demonstrated once again the power of the papacy to preserve doctrinal unity in the Church; because of the perplexing problems that were settled; because of the quickening of interest in biblical study and the splendid results which have come in the field of Catholic biblical scholarship from the stimulus given to biblical research by the encyclical; and because the papal encyclical contained doctrinal pronouncements of great value.[1]

I.

The rapid advance of scientific and archaeological discoveries had raised what seemed to be serious difficulties against the inerrancy of the Sacred Scriptures. Some few Catholic teachers, neglecting the traditional doctrine of the Church on inspiration, and anxious to find a solution for the difficulties against inerrancy which scientific discoveries had created, put forth opinions which were not in accord with generally accepted Catholic teaching. The vast majority of Catholic authorities held firmly to the proposition that there were no formal errors in the Bible, but some few Catholic writers ventured to call this thesis into question. The rationalistic critics, pointing triumphantly on the one hand to what were supposed to be the assured conclu-

[1] Articles on the various phases of the encyclical will be found in *Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. V, no. 2.

sions of historical and physical science and on the other to statements in the Bible which seemed to contradict them, contended that the Bible did contain errors in matters of science and history. Some Catholic writers, in order to safeguard the inerrancy of the Bible in what they deemed its essential message, namely religious truth, began to restrict the extent of inspiration or at least of its obvious consequence, inerrancy, and distinguishing between matters of faith and morals on the one hand and profane matters on the other, contended that inspiration, and therefore inerrancy, did not extend to these profane matters. Such views were voiced by Rohling in Germany and Lenormant in France. In Italy, Semeria propounded the theory that inspiration extended only so far as the purpose which God intended in each book. Anything in the book not pertinent to that purpose was uninspired. Cardinal Newman in an article in the *Nineteenth Century* and in a pamphlet entitled *What is of Obligation for a Catholic to Believe concerning the Inspiration of the Canonical Scriptures,* distinguished four kinds of material in the Bible: a) matters of faith and morals; b) historical data closely connected with dogma; c) scientific data; d) *obiter dicta* by which he meant trivial remarks of no doctrinal consequence, such as St. Paul's request that Timothy bring him the cloak and books left with Carpus at Troas. Others contended that inspiration extended to every part of the Bible but distinguished various degrees, the lowest of which was compatible with error. Thus matters of geography, science and chronological data, since they were written merely under the lowest degree of inspiration, were not necessarily free from error.

It is easy to imagine what confusion and uneasiness the public expression of such views caused in Catholic circles. There was need of infallible guidance in a matter which so closely concerned the foundations of the faith, and there must have been many a fervent act of thanksgiving to divine Providence when Pope Leo XIII spoke authoritatively in *Providentissimus Deus,* reprobating these erroneous views and clearly restating the traditional Catholic teaching. There was immediate explicit submission on the part of those who had voiced contrary views, and immediately all controversy ceased concerning the extent of inspiration and the inerrancy of the Sacred Scriptures. Some of

the writers concerned sent a letter to the Holy Father expressing their gratitude for the definitive papal pronouncement.

At the time of the Vatican Council, twenty-three years before the publication of *Providentissimus Deus*, there were those who contended that the definition of papal infallibility was neither opportune nor necessary. If any vindication of the need and timeliness of that dogmatic definition were subsequently needed, it was certainly given in the situation which called forth *Providentissimus Deus* and in the world-wide unanimity with which the faculties of Catholic universities and the faithful generally throughout the world submitted to the papal pronouncement.

The encyclical put an end to the controversies which before its publication had been rather heated. The matter of the extent of inspiration and of the inerrancy of the Bible in all its authentic assertions, properly understood, was settled once and for all by the encyclical.

II.

Two main problems confronted the biblical apologist in the latter part of the nineteenth century, that raised by true or alleged scientific findings and that brought to light by researches in the field of history and archaeology. In both realms, it was contended, the conclusions conflicted with various statements of the Bible, and therefore, it was contended, the Bible was in error. Some Catholic leaders did not solve the problem, but denied its existence by claiming that inspiration did not extend to such matters in the Bible, or if it did, it was merely a restricted kind of inspiration that did not guarantee the inspired writer's immunity from error. *Providentissimus Deus* rejected this contention, and reasserted the traditional Catholic teaching that inspiration extends to all parts of the Bible and absolutely guarantees its freedom from formal error. The Holy Father was not content with defining the basic truth that "so far is it from being possible that any error can coexist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the Supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true." [2] He went further and stated certain gen-

[2] *Enchiridion Biblicum*, No. 109.

eral principles which would serve as a practical guide for the solution of the apparent contradictions between the ascertained conclusions of science and the statements of Sacred Scripture. These principles were not new. They had been set down long before by St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, but in the excitement and alarm which accompanied the rapid advance of scientific discovery, and the much publicized charges that the Bible was not to be believed without reservation, they were overlooked by some Catholic apologists, and had to be solemnly restated by the supreme authority. These principles are briefly that the Bible is not a text book of physical science, that the sacred writers had no intention of teaching men " the essential nature of the things of the visible universe, things in no way profitable unto salvation. Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with things in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are daily used at this day, even by eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the sense; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers, as the Angelic Doctor also reminds us, went by what sensibly appeared, or put down what God speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to." [3]

These simple principles, obvious though they may seem to us today, were apparently overlooked by exegetes and theologians until they were recalled by Leo XIII. The result of their restatment in the encyclical was immediate. Controversies that had been carried on for centuries as to how to reconcile certain scriptural passages with the Copernican system, which had long since superseded the Ptolemaic, were now settled. Since the Bible was not a textbook of geology or any other physical science, and since the authors had no intention of teaching such things, they could have made no formal judgment as to the inner constitution of the physical universe, and therefore could not be accused of error, since that appertains only to judgments.

There were also difficulties in reconciling the Bible with the findings of secular history. One statement in the encyclical was interpreted by some in the sense that the above stated principles in regard to physical science could also be applied to history as

[3] *E. B., No.* 106.

well. So there arose the theory of history according to appearances. Such an interpretation of the encyclical, however, was unwarranted, and was definitely condemned by Pope Benedict XV a quarter of a century later in the encyclical *Spiritus Paraclitus*: " If Leo XIII does say that we can apply to history and cognate subjects the same principles which hold good for science, he yet does not lay this down as a universal law, but simply says that we can apply a like line of argument when refuting the fallacies of adversaries and defending the historical truth of Scripture from their assaults." [4]

The principles promulgated in *Providentissimus Deus* in this regard are in brief summary:

1) The difficulty sometimes arises from a faulty copy of the sacred text. Such a fault of textual transmission is, however, not to be lightly presumed but must be established by convincing arguments.

2) The conclusions based on archaeological investigation and historical research are often premature and proven by more thorough investigation and subsequent discoveries to be false. Therefore the Pontiff advises us to cling to the inerrancy of the Bible and to be patient while awaiting further light on the problem.

3) We may not have grasped the genuine meaning of the inspired writer.

4) Historians and archaeologists often state as established fact what is merely conjecture. How often this last situation has been realized, and how often the widely heralded findings of secular historians have later proven to be false, is well known to anyone familiar with the history of biblical criticism and interpretation.

III.

Among the interesting results of the promulgation of the *Providentissimus Deus* was, as pointed out in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW by Father Hewett, C.S.P.,[5] that in the eyes of the non-Catholic world the supposed positions of the Church and of Protestants in regard to the Bible were reversed. Whereas at the time of the Reformation and subsequently they posed as the

[4] *E. B.*, No. 469.

[5] Vol. XII, p. 318ff. (1895).

champions and defenders of the Bible and pictured the Catholic Church as the foe of the Sacred Scriptures, as a result of the encyclical, the Church was manifested to the whole world as the genuine champion and the true defender of the written word of God.

Far more significant results, however, are to be found in the immense stimulus given to biblical studies among Catholics and the various effective means taken to provide opportunities for higher studies and to safeguard both students and professors from the many errors which were constantly and still are cropping up in the rationalistic camp. The establishment of the Pontifical Commission de Re Biblica in 1902 to pass on various biblical questions, although its decisions are not infallible and irrevocable, supplied students and teachers with a safe and highly authoritative norm after which to shape their own views, and an indication of the mind of the Church. The degrees which this same Commission was empowered to grant, but only after the most thorough and comprehensive examination of the candidate's knowledge, were an incentive to thorough study.

Next came the establishment of the Biblical Institute at Rome, planned by Pope Leo XIII and erected by Pope Pius X in 1909. The alumni of this institution are scattered all over the world and constitute a well equipped phalanx to resists and overcome the assaults of modern rationalistic criticism leveled against the Sacred Scriptures. Many outstanding scholars have been produced during the past fifty years who can hold their own in point of erudition and scholarship with the best among non-Catholics. These Catholic scholars have produced many fine works on every phase of biblical study which for learning and accuracy and critical acumen need acknowledge no peer.

IV.

On the doctrine of the encyclical little need be said. It reiterated the traditional stand of the Church in regard to the inspired character of the Sacred Scriptures and their consequent freedom from error. This reiteration of dogmatic truth was made necessary by the persistent denials of the rationalists, denials which are the logical outcome of the principles set down by the sixteenth century reformers, and which have found all too many adherents among those whose doctrinal forebears be-

lieved that the Sacred Scriptures had been literally dictated by God to human amanuenses. Further clarified and fortified were the traditional teachings of the Church on the extent of inspiration and inerrancy to every part of the Bible. This latter pronouncement was made necessary by the views which children of the Church had expressed in order to run away from the charge that the word of God contained errors.

The most important contribution of the encyclical is that part which treats of the nature of inspiration. Pope Leo consecrates and makes official the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas which explains inspiration by the application of principal and instrumental causality to God and the human authors. Finally the encyclical embodies a definition of inspiration which has become classical, and which makes more precise the pronouncements of various Councils on the nature of inspiration. No other textbook is needed to teach the nature of inspiration than the text of this encyclical.

It is therefore fitting that an encyclical which has produced such wonderful results, and whose effect is still being felt in ahe Church after fifty years, should be recalled and restudied on its fiftieth anniversary. The doctrine it contains, like the truth that it is, is ever ancient and ever new. At the same time it is opportune, for it deals with a matter of perennial interest, the Sacred Scriptures, the world's greatest literature, which will continue to be read, studied, venerated and discussed as long as the world shall endure.[6]

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TOWARDS A TRANSLATION OF THE ROMAN MISSAL.

Repeated attempts have been made at rendering the Missal or parts of it into readable modern English. They have come in the wake of the Liturgical Movement, or, let us say, the reawakening of intense interest in the Roman Liturgy, particularly the Holy Mass, which is the summit of our liturgical service. While we have reason to rejoice over this multiplication of English Missals, the joy is not altogether unmixed. It drives home,

[6] As this article was completed, word came that the Holy Father has issued an encyclical commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of *Providentissimus Deus.*

with increasing painfulness, one unpleasant fact: we are not yet in possession of an all-round satisfactory, a perfect, English translation. I hope I shall be pardoned, under these circumstances, if I propose in this essay to offer some suggestions "looking towards" realizing the hopes of every educated Catholic. What we are all wishing for, what many of us are working for, is a translation of the Missal that shall reflect both the scholarship and devotion of American Catholics. Since scholarship and devotion collaborated in producing the *Missale Romanum*, it is fair to expect that *the* English Missal, if it is ever to come, shall be the combined result of the serious efforts as well as of the devotion of American Catholics.

The present essay is strictly limited in scope. I prefer to put before the reader one concrete example of what I think might be done towards producing something that would command the respect of the general public. In other words: I have selected, both for translation and for brief comment, a portion of the Missal which is admittedly one of the finest the Roman mind has devised for enhancing the beauty of the Liturgy, the *Exsultet iam Angelica* sung by the deacon on Holy Saturday. A lyrical outburst of the first rank, though presented in prose form, the *Exsultet* may well serve as a test of the merits or the worthlessness of the suggestions anyone may wish to make toward paving the way for the perfect English Missal.

Before offering translation and comment, I must say a word or two by way of general introduction. The subjoined English rendering of the *Exsultet* is modern in the sense that it is couched in words which are in good usage at the present time; archaisms have been rigidly excluded. The Liturgy, it is true, comes to us, in some of its portions, from the very dawn of Christianity. I think, however, that we of the twentieth century have a right to rethink the thoughts of those early days and express them in our own language. In the abstract I am ready to admit that a modern translator might, with perfect propriety, resort to archaic forms of expression, in the belief that so old and venerable a document as the *Exsultet* would more surely find its way to mind and heart if it retained a certain flavor which we instinctively associate with language far removed from the highways and by-ways of modern life. It is the same feeling that affects us so agreeably when we come under the spell of the

dimmed light of our churches after entering them from the glaring streets. But it stands to reason, that, if archaizing is given the preference, the rendering should be archaic from start to finish. An artificial blend of archaic and modern diction, such as one occasionally meets in modern English Missals, is a fantastic hybrid. At all events, the following translation is modern throughout. I hold that a translation of the *Exsultet* cannot be set aside for the sole reason that it is modern. Incidentally, I claim the same privilege for our translation of the New Testament.

Another feature of my rendering is that it is done in prose. It might be argued, I know, that the lyrical character of the *Exsultet* calls for verse and poetic diction as its only legitimate garb in English. I admit the force of the objection, but find shelter, nevertheless, behind three facts. Though lyrical in character, the *Exsultet* is not a poem in the modern acceptation of that word. The most one can say is, that it is a specimen of the old Hebrew conception of poetry;[1] but this feature of the *Exsultet* can be compensated for in other ways. Secondly, it is a recognized and approved practice among classical scholars to give prose renderings of Greek and Latin poetry, and our current English Missals are examples of this practice that might be cited as precedents. Thirdly, verse translations seldom do justice to the original. The well-known renderings of the *Lauda Sion*, for instance, may be stirring poetry and well-adapted to congregational singing, but they are of necessity lacking in point of accuracy. They do not and cannot reproduce the precision and intricacies of thought nor the dogmatic completeness, which St. Thomas Aquinas succeeded in crowding into his verse. Speaking of the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* in the Mass for Pentecost, Father Martindale comments: "It is impossible to translate into appropriate verse the Sequence that follows. Many have tried; all have failed. Any adaptation for the sake of metre or rhyme, loses something of the original, and not one notion can be spared. Best, then, to say, quite simply and without decoration, what the Sequence prays for, and from Whom."[2] In dealing with any ancient document, where theological finesse is a prime con-

[1] Cf. Cummins, "Rhythm, Hebrew and English", and McClellan, "The Element of Old Testament Poetry," in *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, Vol. III, pp. 27 ff. and pp. 203, 321.

[2] *The Mind of the Missal*, p. 152.

sideration, a prose rendering is preferable to verse. Poetry, be it of the loftiest, will not compensate for the loss of Catholic doctrine. I wonder, therefore, whether it is wise to include verse translations of Latin hymns in our English missals.

Furthermore: in the subjoined rendering there are two features which, I think, raise it, however slightly, above the ordinary. English prose ranges all the way from the speech of the man in the street to the cultured expression of educated persons. A translation of the Liturgy should be dignified and reverent. This it will be if it conforms to a requisite for artistic prose laid down centuries ago by Aristotle and, since then, adopted as a ruling principle in all Western literatures. In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle rules that prose worth listening to should show a fair sprinkling of words which he called *xenika*, not foreign or strange words, but words that are aloof from the ordinary tone of conversation, words not hackneyed or trite, but choice and having an air of distinction. This requirement chimes in well with our own ideas of liturgical language. Masters of English prose, who have had occasion to render portions of the Missal, have pointed out one source of choice diction: they have interspersed their prose with words of Latin derivation. Cardinal Newman, at least in his Prayers and Meditations, is decidedly partial to words of Latin origin. The word "Omnipotent" is used by him quite as frequently as "Almighty." In the Canon of the Mass he offers "celestial benediction and grace" as his rendering of *benedictione caelesti et gratia*. Father Martindale, whose researches in liturgical diction are highly prized, shows the same partiality.[3] One cannot deny that in the collect after the Second Prophecy on Holy Saturday, where God is addressed as *Incommutabilis*, "Incommutable" would show very well as an attribute of God. That there must be limits to this application of Latin words, is, of course, obvious.

This principle of heightening liturgical language by words that are choice, in general, and of Latin origin, in particular, is corroborated by a glance at the actual Latin used in the *Exsultet*. The opening three sections, at any rate, are unlike anything we find elsewhere in the Missal in such profusion: *Angelica turba caelorum—exsultent divina mysteria—tuba insonet salutaris — tellus tantis irradiata fulgoribus — se sentiat ami-*

[3] Martindale, *The Words of the Missal, passim.*

sisse caliginem—magnis populorum vocibus—haec aula resultet. Here is a perfect riot of rhetorical if not poetical diction. As by the thought, so by the language, we are lifted off the earth and transported into the regions where Angels offer their praise to the Almighty.

Finally, Aristotle rules that artistic prose should be rhythmical (though not strictly metrical). As a matter of fact, the best Greek and Latin prose shows a perceptible rhythm at least in the so-called *clausula.* It is well known, of course, that this Isocratean and, later, Ciceronian, practice of writing rhythmical prose has deeply influenced English prose.[4] With this principle in mind, I have striven in my rendering so to choose and arrange the words as to obtain a certain rhythmical swing. This, I feel, will take care of the lyrical character of the *Exsultet* in a prose rendering. If we cannot have verse, we can at least have rhythmical prose.[5]

In conclusion, it is obvious that no translation of any degree of perfection can ever rival, much less supplant, the original. The connotations in either language have to be reckoned with. To take an obvious example from the *Exsultet*, in addressing Christ as King we do not convey the exact idea attaching to the Latin word *rex.* Then there is the difficulty arising from the use of idiom. Idiom is so peculiar to the genius of the language of which it is a part, that a language would have to sacrifice its very lifeblood to attempt to be a perfect vehicle of thoughts expressed in another tongue. Fortunately, this weakness inherent in the very nature of translation, this initial and fundamental handicap, is not a more serious obstacle to the translator of the Roman Missal than it is to any other translator.

The *Exsultet* is a work of art that holds a music all its own.[6] For majestic movement, dramatic life, stately phrase, picturesque image, sonorous words, lively apostrophe, or balancing of clauses, one may, to be sure, turn to the old masters such as the Prophets

[4] Genung, *The Working Principles of Rhetoric*, pp. 171 ff. and 210 ff.

[5] The only appropriate way of rendering the Psalms into modern prose is by complying with the two last-named requirements for artistic prose, 1) choice language (with an occasional approach to "poetic" diction) and 2) rhythmical movement. Cf. rendering below of Verse 2 of Psalm 44.

[6] There is an exquisite literary appreciation of the *Exsultet* in Martindale's *The Words of the Missal.* The history of the *Exsultet* is summed up by Braun, "Osterpraekonium und Osterkerzenweihe," in *Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, LVI, 273 ff. See also L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik*, I, 537 ff.; J. Kramp, *Messliturgie und Gottesreich*, I, 358 ff. Further literature is indicated in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, III, col. 919.

in the Old Testament, or, among the classics, to Aeschylus or Pindar, or to Shakespeare or Milton for exquisitely moulded language and noble cadence, but the *Exsultet* alone is lit up by the *Lumen Christi.* No such song was possible before " Christ broke the bonds of Death, and rose, a Victor, from the dead." In other words, the *Exsultet* is liturgical—in theme, in language, in musical setting. Being a part of the Liturgy, it is a part of the great Bridal Song which the Church offers to her Divine Bridegroom. In it, as in other solemn functions, the Church appears *quasi sponsa ornata monilibus suis.* Any care one lavishes on its proper presentation is a service rendered to Christ our Lord. One trembles as one approaches the task of interpreting it in modern English prose, but one may draw courage from the *Prolusio* of the inspired Marriage Song, Psalm 44:

> Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum:
> dico ego opera mea Regi.
> Lingua mea calamus scribae
> velociter scribentis:
>
> My heart wells forth a noble song;
> I chant my master poem to a King.
> A penman's quill intent on rapid writing
> is my tongue.

Translation

1. And now—exult, O Heaven's Angel Host! Exult, O Liturgy divine! And since so mighty a King has conquered, let the bugle sound the news that " Man is saved!"

2. Rejoice, thou too, O Earth, all radiant with such dazzling light! O feel, illumined by the splendor of the Everlasting King, that thou art now relieved of all the gloom that once involved the vast wide world!

3. Rejoice, thou too, O Mother Church, all brightened by such floods of dazzling light! And may this Court reverberate the nations' thundering acclaim!

4. You, therefore, most dear Brethren, who are gathered about the wondrous brightness of this holy Light, I beg to join me as I invoke the mercy of God Omnipotent: may He who has vouchsafed, for no merit of my own, to add my name to the Levites' roll, pour forth into my soul the brightness of His

Light, and thus enable me to chant this Candle's full-toned praise.

Through our Lord Jesus Christ, His Son, who lives and reigns with Him, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, for endless ages yet to come. Amen.

5. Yes, truly meet it is and just, with all the glow of heart and mind and with obedient voice, to hymn the Invisible God, the Father Almighty, and His Sole-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; for He it was who, in our stead, has paid, to the Eternal Father, the debt of Adam; He it was who with His Blood so lovingly has blotted out the note of hand that proved our ancient guilt.

6. For this is the Paschal Feast on which is slain that one true Lamb whose blood preserves the doorposts of the Faithful unprofaned. This is the Night in which, of old, Thou didst conduct the fathers out of Egypt and make the sons of Israel pass, dryshod, through the Red Sea. This, then, is the Night in which the luminous Pillar cleared away the mist of sin. This is the Night which throughout the world today parts, once for all, from worldly vice and the gloom of sin, restores to grace, and weds to sanctity, all those who believe in Christ. This is the Night in which Christ broke the bonds of Death and rose, a Victor, from the dead.

7. No blessing, surely, was our birth to us—but for the blessings which Redemption brought. O marvellous condescension of Thy Loving-kindness tending us! O inestimable tenderness of Love: to redeem a slave Thou gavest up a Son! O needful, indeed, was Adam's sin, which was deleted by the Death of Christ! O happy fault that merited to be redeemed by One so good, so great!

8. O truly blissful Night that hast alone deserved to know the time and hour in which the Christ rose from the dead! This is the Night of which the Scripture says: "And as the day the Night shall be ablaze!" Again: "The Night sheds light upon my ecstasies!" This Night is, therefore, sanctified: it puts to flight all crime and washes guilt away; restores the fallen to their innocence, the saddened to their joy; it routs all hatred, brings peace, and curbs all arrogance.

9. Therefore, in token of our gratitude for this propitious Night, accept, O Holy Father, this evening Sacrifice of frank-

incense, which Most Holy Church now renders Thee through the hands of her ministers by the solemn offering of this waxen Candle made out of the skill of bees.

10. This flame diffuses every way; yet, though its light is shared, it knows no loss; for it is nourished by the melting mass of wax which, from her womb, the mother-bee produced to serve this precious Lamp as sustenance.

11. O truly blissful Night, which robbed the Egyptians, made the Hebrews rich—the Night that wedded Heaven with earth and God with man!

We, therefore, ask of Thee, O Lord: Grant that this waxen Candle, consecrated to the honor of Thy Name, may continue, unexhausted, to dispel the blackness of this Night; and, accepted for a sweet aroma, may it mingle with the starry lights on high. May the Day-star find its flames at morn—that Day-star do I mean that never sets—Him who, returning from the realms of Death, has shone serenely on the human race.

12. We therefore offer our prayers to Thee, O Lord: Grant tranquil times to us Thy ministers, to all the Clergy and to Thy devoted People, united with our Most Holy Father, N., and our Bishop, N., Vouchsafe, amid these Paschal joys, with Thy protection neverceasing, to rule, direct, and shield us all, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord, Thy Son, who lives and reigns with Thee, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, for endless ages yet to come. Amen.

NOTES.

1. *Exsultet:* the leitmotif of this Paschal Symphony. Its repetition (epanaphora) suggests a burst of joyousness. Formed from *ex-salto,* the intensive of *ex-silio,* the word means "to dance, to leap, for joy." Other renderings would be "exult, sing for joy, make jubilee." Remember the Magnificat: "My spirit leaps (sings) for joy in God my Savior." It makes little difference whether we retain the third person or substitute the second. The latter is, of course, more vivid.

Turba: not here used "with the notion of crowd or confusion" (Harper). "Host" or "Choirs" will answer the purpose. "Mysterium" is a puzzle here, as it is elsewhere in the Missal. *Mysteria divina* may refer to the blessed souls in Heaven. A reference to the Blessed Trinity seems out of the

question. I incline to Martindale's interpretation. Taken over from the pagan " mysteries ", the term is used in the Missal of the celebration of Mass, those " holy and secret rites." The Greek *mysterion* in the New Testament is rendered in the Vulgate now by *mysterium*, now by *sacramentum*. " Liturgy," as here used, would, of course, include anything and everything connected with the blessing of the Candle: the Candle, the House of God, the Clergy, the ceremonies, the people attending, and the Blessed in Heaven. Cardinal Schuster renders, " mysteries divine "; A. Schott, " *ihr hohen Geheimnisse* "; J. Kramp, " *der seligen Geister Chor.*"

Tuba salutaris: salus generally takes its color from its opposite; this, in the present context, is " defeat "; hence, " *Siegesposaune* " (Schott); " Let the trumpet sound the note of *victory.*" A reference to our " salvation," which was fully accomplished on Easter Day, is however, more natural here.

2. *Se sentiat amisisse: sentiat* is an intimate touch, as though the earth were a living thing and now felt relieved. Also note the perfect *amisisse*: once for all, it is rid of the heavy load, the depressing nightmare—of all the gloom that had once lain upon it.

3. *Populorum:* two interpretations are possible. If we take *populi* in the late ecclesiastical sense of " people, persons," and *aula* as a stately reference to the sacred edifice, the meaning would be: "And let this spacious Hall reverberate the joyous cries of its throng of worshippers "; but if we take *aula* as " royal residence, court," and *populi* in its classical acceptation as " peoples, nations," we obtain the more majestic sense: " Let this Court re-echo with the nations' thundering cries." The inspired singer may see in the worshippers the representatives of the nations who have assembled in *haec aula* to offer their homage to Christ the King. In the Church's mind, the *Cereus* symbolizes the risen Christ.

4. *Implere perficiat*: a pleonasm, conveying the idea of fullness and perfection. No ordinary chanting will do justice to this occasion.

5. *Vere dignum et iustum est*: an echo of the server's words: " Yes, truly meet it is and just." *Cautionem* reminds us of St. Paul's (Col. 2:14) *chirographum decreti*: the " Note of hand " which secured (*cavere*) a creditor against loss of money due to

him. The adjective *pio* touchingly personifies *cruore*. Here English idiom can hardly follow the Latin.

6. *Consecrantur*: "are sanctified, made immune against, or preserved from, desecration." "Doorposts": the houses, and their inmates.

7. *Circa nos*: as a tender mother-bird surrounds or enfolds her brood with her wings. *Meruit habere*: *habere* often means "to have as a consequence, entail, be followed by, require," hence almost "to demand."

8. For the precise sense of these words from Psalm 138, *et nox illuminatio mea in deliciis meis,* see Van der Heeren, *Psalmi et Cantica.*

9. *In gratia*: the ablative is puzzling since we expect the accusative. But see Schmalz, *Antibarbarus,* s. v. *in*. *Gratia* may be merely a phonetic variant for *gratiam*. *Operibus*: *opus* and, especially, the plural *opera,* are often used of works of art. Perhaps the abstract noun "skill" or "artistry" will convey the meaning.

Incensi huius: incensum was originally the "burning or lighted Candle"; later it was interpreted as "frankincense." See Eisenhofer, *l. c.*

10. *Mutuati:* "borrowed light"; we expect "light that is communicated" to the other lamps in the Church; hence "shared."

11. *Matutinus:* the adjective qualifies the verb *inveniat*. So, too, *serenus* goes with *illuxit*. This use of the adjective is fairly common in Latin, as *Socrates laetus venenum hausit.*

It will not, I trust, surprise the reader that in interpreting the *Exsultet* I have repeatedly had recourse to the old classical tradition. Early Ecclesiastical Latin coincides, both in time and, largely, in spirit, with what is technically called Late Latin. In its oldest portions the Roman Missal is an ancient document, in the same sense, for instance, in which the Vulgate and the Greek New Testament are late, indeed, yet genuine flowerings of ancient Latin or Greek. A striking illustration of this fact is afforded by Sr. Mary Gonzaga Haessly's *Rhetoric in the Sunday Collects of the Roman Missal* (Ursuline College: Cleveland, Ohio).

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VALIDITY OF MARRIAGE. CANONS 1099 AND 1070.

Qu. Anna, child of a Catholic mother and a non-Catholic father, and born before their marriage had been validated, was baptized in the Catholic Church. When she was eight years old she was under instruction for her First Holy Communion. Her father was offended by a priest who was attempting to have the marriage validated. Until this time she had been going to Mass. Her father then took her to his Episcopalian Church, and afterwards she practised that religion. When she was twenty she married a baptized Congregationalist in the Episcopalian Church. Later they were divorced and the man attempted a civil marriage with a Catholic, Helen.

Is there any basis for declaring the first marriage null?

Can the Bishop make the declaration or must I present the case to the marriage court?

If your answer is affirmative, can you cite a similar case from Rome, or documents from the Commission for Interpreting the Code?

I will be very grateful for any help that you may give me on this difficult case.

Resp. The problem involved in the case as stated herewith seems to fall under Canon 1099, § 2, rather than under Canon 1070. As long as it can not be proved that the baptism of the Congregationalist party was invalid, the marriage would necessarily be regarded as valid under Canon 1070, § 2. If it could be proved that the latter's baptism was invalid, the further problem would arise as to whether Anna was bound by the impediment of disparity of worship under Canon 1070. As to the period prior to the promulgation of the Code, there seems no room for doubt, since even those baptized outside the Church were bound by that impediment. As to the period following the promulgation of the Code, the matter is not entirely beyond dispute.

In answering a doubt on this point, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW replied in 1933 that it is the common opinion that persons baptized in the Catholic Church are bound by the impediment of disparity of worship, even though one parent be a non-Catholic, and even though they might be reared outside the Church from infancy.[1] On the other hand, Vermeersch,

[1] *The Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXXIX, (1933), 69.

Wernz-Vidal, and Cappello all admit that the matter is doubtful.[2] Vermeersch and Wernz-Vidal advert to the fact that Vlaming and Genicot-Salsmans [3] hold the opposite view. While arguing that the legislator in the same tract, i. e., in Canon 1099, § 2, expressly exempted such persons from the obligation of the matrimonial form, and consequently was well aware that they might also be exempted, for a similar reason, from the impediment of disparity of worship, but nevertheless made no provision for such exemption, Vermeersch, because of the *dubium iuris*, admits that they are not bound by the impediment of disparity of worship because of Canon 15. Vlaming and Genicot-Salsmans counsel referring each case to the Holy Office. Cappello believes that Vlaming was led to this conclusion by arguing analogically from the fact that the Holy Office (31 March, 1911) required recourse in cases involving the obligation of such persons to observe the form of marriage during the period between the Decree, *Ne temere*, and the Code.[4]

In the present state of the case, therefore, it would be unsound practice to declare invalid because of disparity of worship, a marriage involving an unbaptized person and one baptized in the Catholic Church, though not reared a Catholic, if one of his parents was not a Catholic.

This doubt may one day be resolved as was the doubt concerning the obligation of such a person to observe the form of marriage when only one of his parents was not a Catholic. Responses given by the Pontifical Commission for the Interpretation of the Canons of the Code, rendered in the years 1929-1931 have made it quite clear that such a person is exempted from the form, even if one of his parents be only an apostate, and that this is the sense in which Canon 1099, § 2 should have been understood from its promulgation.[5] A doubt still unsolved arises from the apostasy of one or of both parents after

[2] Vermeersch-Creusen, *Epitome Iuris Canonici*, (2 ed., 1925), II, n. 344; Wernz-Vidal, *Ius Canonicum*, V (2. ed., 1928), 304; Cappello, *De Sacramentis*, III (1923), n. 412.

[3] Vlaming, *Praelectiones Iuris Matrimonii*, (3 ed., 1919), I, n. 289; Genicot-Salsmans, *Theologia Moralis*, II, 491.

[4] Cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, III (1911), 163.

[5] July 20, 1929, ad II—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXI (1929), 573; February 17, 1930—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXII (1930), 195; July 25, 1931—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXIII (1931), 388. Cf. *The Ecclesiastical Review*, LXXXIII (1930), 484; LXXXIV (1931), 522; LXXXV (1931), 637.

the child's birth and before he reaches the age of seven years. THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW in 1930 and 1931 discussed this doubt and gave two variant solutions, both probably by the same author, the latter solution suggesting that the matter be referred to the Holy Office in each case.[6] So far as the purpose of the exemption is concerned, such a person should be exempt, it would seem, just as if his parent or parents had been apostate at the time of his birth. So far as a literal reading of Canon 1099, § 2, is concerned, he was not born an apostate, and would seem not to enjoy the exemption. A further complication can be imagined. Non-Catholic parents may be converted to the Catholic Church after the birth of the child and become apostate before the child reaches the age of seven. In this situation, both the purpose of the exemption and the literal sense of Canon 1099, § 2, would suggest that the offspring is exempt. In any event, in either of the two doubtful situations just outlined, it would be unsound practice to declare the marriage null because of the failure to observe the form.

The central difficulty in the case presented herewith concerns the amount of Catholic education required under Canon 1099, § 2, to render its recipient subject to the obligation to observe the matrimonial form. Marx [7] holds that two years of religious instruction must be proved. Allen suggests that four years of such instruction would be adequate.[8] The latter offers this degree of instruction as evidence of a tacit acceptance of Catholicity.

The determination of whether a sufficient degree of instruction was given the person baptized a Catholic who had never received any of the other Sacraments would seem always to be beset with sufficient uncertainty to require a formal process. For in such a case the civil marriage enjoys the distinction of a *species matrimonii.* If the baptized party was not bound to observe the form, the civil marriage is valid. The case is quite different from that in which it is found that two Catholics, who prove their baptism by authentic certificates, have attempted a civil marriage. There the problem is simply one of

[6] LXXXIII (1930), 484; LXXXIV (1931), 522.

[7] *The Declaration of Nullity of Marriages Contracted Outside the Church,* The Catholic University of America, Canon Law Studies, n. 182 (The Catholic University of America Press: Washington, D. C., 1943), pp. 84, 85.

[8] "The Test of Catholicity under Canon 1099"—*The Jurist,* III (1943), 601.

investigation to ascertain whether or not any other marriage took place, that is, a marriage in the presence of a competent priest. On the contrary, where one who is doubtfully bound to the form presents her case, a marriage is brought into court which may prove to be a valid marriage. Marx agrees that a formal process is necessary, adding that Article 231, § 2, of the Instruction of 1936, requires this process when a doubt arises concerning the matters enumerated in Article 231, § 1, and that one of the conditions entitling the Ordinary to act without the process is that the parties were, without doubt, bound to observe the form.[9]

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INFORMATION IN BAPTISM RECORDS.

Qu. Mrs. Mary Smith, not having cohabited with her husband for more than a year and living habitually with John Doe, gives birth to a child, Anna. Both Mrs. Mary Smith and John Doe admit that they are the parents of Anna. But John Doe will not declare in writing that he is the father of Anna.

1) Under which surname should Anna's baptism be entered in the baptismal register—her mother's maiden name, her mother's name by marriage, or her real father's name.

2) What should be done about noting the father's name in the baptismal register, if Anna, as other previous offspring of this sinful union, will be known by her father's name as Anna Doe.

3) What entry should be noted in the column of the register marked "Remarks" to indicate that Anna Doe is not the legitimate child?

4) If John Doe had been civilly married to Mrs. Mary Smith, after she had obtained a civil divorce, how should Anna be entered in the baptismal register?

5) In event of the death of Mr. Smith and the validation of the union between John Doe and Mrs. Mary Smith, what changes must be made in the Baptismal Register?

6) If either of the parents are non-Catholic should it be noted in the Baptismal Register? If the father is Catholic but the mother non-Catholic does this make any change in the method of recording the case cited above?

[9] Marx, *op. cit.*, p. 97; cf. Instruction of 1936 (August 15)—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XXVIII (1936), 312-370.

Resp. This correspondent proposes doubts as to the inscription in the baptismal register of the facts concerning the illegitimacy of an adulterine child. It might be advisable to note at once that the register, or any transcript taken from it, would not enjoy the power of demonstrating the fact of illegitimacy in an ecclesiastical tribunal, but only the facts primarily connected with the baptism.[1] However, it could give rise to presumptions, and be a source of libel and scandal, as well. Nevertheless, both the Roman Ritual [2] and the Code [3] prescribe that the names of the parents are to be recorded, but in such a manner that injury to reputation be avoided.[4]

Adulterine offspring are in a special case, inasmuch as Canon 1115, §§ 1, 2, indicates that he is the father of the child who is bound to its mother by the bonds of a *just* marriage, unless there is proof to the contrary, v. g., the absence of the father from the three hundredth to the one hundred and eightieth day prior to the birth, or his established impotence. The mere word of either or both parties does not suffice.[5] Nevertheless, the Code Commission indicated in 1922 that the names of the parents of adulterine, sacrilegious, and other spurious children are to be entered in the register, if this is possible without injury to reputation, but that particular cases are to be referred to the Sacred Congregation of the Council.[6] However, the latter obligation would seem to exist only in cases falling within Canon 1115 or those in which the provisions of Canon 777, § 2, can not be met. Consequently, if mother or father or both admit parentage in writing or before two witnesses; or if it is publicly known that the woman is the mother or a public document is evidence of the identity of the father; and if at the same time

[1] Cf. Canon 1816; Willett, *The Probative Value of Documents in Ecclesiastical Trials*, (Catholic University Canon Law Studies), p. 73.

[2] Tit. II, c. 2, *Ordo baptismi parvulorum*, n. 34; tit. X, c. 2, *Formulae scribendi in Libris habendis apud parochos;* c. 3, *Forma describendi baptizatos.*

[3] Canon 777, § 1.

[4] Canon 77, § 2; *Rituale Rom.*, tit. X, c. 3, *Forma describendi baptizatos.*

[5] Vermeersch-Creusen, *Epitome Iuris Canonici*, (2. ed., 3. vol., Mechliniae-Romae: H. Dessain, 1925), II, n. 55; Blat, *Commentarium Textus Codicis Iuris Canonici. De Sacramentis* (Roma: Ferrari, 1924), n. 68; O'Rourke, *Parish Registers*, The Catholic University of America, Canon Law Studies, n. 88 (Washington, D. C., 1934), pp. 51-55; *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, L (1923), 110.

[6] 14 iul. 1922, ad VIII—*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XIV (1922), 528.

the obstacle of Canon 1115 does not exist; then the names of the mother and father may be inscribed.

The case as presented would seem to fall within Canon 1115. The manner of inscription, then, should not be decided without reference to the Sacred Congregation of the Council. One would not seem justified in accepting even the written statement of both parties to the sin of adultery that they are the parents of the child, if the child was born under the circumstances of Canon 1115. The latter canon would offer justification for entering the baptism under the names of the married couple; but in view of the response of the Code Commission, this procedure should be postponed pending a decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Council.

The fact that the child will be known by the name of the natural father would be immaterial, as would the fact of a civil invalid marriage or even of a validation after the death of the woman's husband, except as possibly providing the public knowledge sufficient to inscribe the mother's name in cases outside Canon 1115.

In the event that the birth of the child did not occur under the circumstances of Canon 1115, the name of the natural father could be inscribed only if his identity was apparent from a public document (v. g., a court order requiring him to support the child) or from his own confession made in writing or before two witnesses. In the same hypothesis, the mother's name is to be inscribed on similar confession or on the existence of public knowledge of her identity. Since it is the mother's identity, rather than her status, that is to be inscribed, it would seem to suffice to inscribe her maiden name.

The religion of the parties seems irrelevant. Indeed, the necessity of indicating the religion of the parents is not clearly imposed in the law.

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EVOLUTION UNWRAPS MARRIAGE.

From a mewling infant, playfully tugging on the slats of its cradle scarcely a century ago, the theory of evolution sprouted into a possessive youngster, a boisterous chip of boyhood, prankish to a maximum pitch, even though somewhat bewildered by the newness of an expanding intellectual horizon.

While still engaged in learning how to walk around the origin of life, evolution confined itself to the backyard. Once grown up, it began to poke about an exploring finger across the fence, running out occasionally into greener grass, tracking down occasions for a little stimulating adventure. A richer, fuller career spread out before it, tempting analysis, and evolution lost no time in setting forth to explore the mysteries behind human activities, directing special attention to the most significant social act, marriage.

If only to satisfy curiosity, it would be of interest to glance through the rose-tinted glasses of an evolutionist and see how marriage fits into the theory of evolution, to observe whence it originates, what sustains it, and why. That would merely be interesting. But, attached to marriage lies an importance that goes much deeper. It calls for a proper estimate of facts. To toy with the importance of marriage and to undo its sacred character is to do a disservice to humanity so grave as to defy the most vital tendencies observable in human nature. It is to rain down upon mankind a torrent of destruction greater than a frightful calamity. Some acquaintance with the licentious views of evolution, however slight or superficial, makes an excellent preparation for meeting the foe on common ground.

Most prominent among evolutionists today, if not by reason of scientific authority, then certainly by reason of the popularity which he enjoys among rationalists, freethinkers, and knowledge-hungry adolescents, is Bertrand Russell, self-appointed chest-thumping moralist and prophet of a new morality. For many years this thrice-married reformer has been bandying about a thoroughly mischievous theory on the nature and properties of marriage, in wholesale contempt of every law, human, natural, and divine, save the unfounded law of universal evolution.

Being a cultured man, versed in the niceties of language, he has at his disposal a felicitous literary style that cloaks his writings in respectability and veils the eyes of unsettled minds with allure. To dismiss him as a single individual is to court tragedy. He constitutes what could fittingly be denominated a one-man circus of contemporary ethics, decked out to uproot the moral principles and ethical ideals that have come down through the centuries as the hallowed tradition of the Christian faith.

Marriage to Russell is a plain, matter-of-fact custom. Neither the sexual impulse nor the yearning for paternity operate in any way as instinctive factors. Men and women throughout the ages have simply accustomed themselves to live a common life for the sake of their offspring, a mere habit induced by imitating the practices of prehistoric forebears, human and non-human alike. Wherefore, depending upon the extent to which parents are biologically helpful to the young, marital relations remain to a greater or lesser degree a private affair between the parties.

Obviously, the logic of this position constrains him to relax the rigor of the conjugal bond. Since nothing intrinsically affects the man-wife relation as to necessitate permanence, the nuptial state cannot conceivably be other than the changing product of human conduct, alterable on the demand of man's least convenience or caprice. Its stability will fluctuate as the barometer of conflicting views rises or sinks in different localities and at different times. In a primitive condition of society wedlock will enjoy such constancy as tribal rites impose upon the tribesmen, whereas on a more civilized level it will be vested in that degree of indissolubility which legal enactment deems sufficient to maintain right order and peace within the community.

That wedding customs really underwent a series of barometric fluctuations stands apparent, Russell opines, in the manifold forms through which conjugal life evolved along the course of its unfolding. Modern anthropological investigations establish beyond controversy that monogamy formed the first and universal state of married existence. From the earliest time, however, monogamy existed not as it exists at present, but as a matriarchy, by virtue of which the mother exercised full control over the family. Not all evolutionists concede this fact. Step by step a patriarchy arose, and the father usurped undisputed head-

ship of the family. In subsequent ages the process broke down into several successive developments, although mainly along lines of decay, resulting in group-marriage, polygamy, and polyandry.

Up to the latest date marital customs have run the gamut of all the familiar forms and reverted back to a monogamic condition. But the process is not definitely at an end. There is reason to suspect, provided what Russell prophesies holds true, that a new species will soon announce its debut, a sort of matriarchal communism, according to which men and women will be at liberty to bind and loose themselves as their desires prompt them; to beget child or thwart their conception as they see fit. The State, he presumes, will assume all those functions which hitherto devolved upon the father. In his own words: "With the growth of modern civilization the role of the father is being increasingly taken over by the State, and there is reason to think that a father may cease before long to be biologically advantageous, at any rate in the wage-earning class." Thenceforth, marriage will *ipso facto* cease totally to have any *raison d'etre* and will probably no longer be customary except among the religious and the rich, principally for sentimental reasons.

Russell's entire system leans for support on the evolutionary assumption that matrimony branches out of the family and depends for both its essential make-up as well as its actuality, upon the anterior existence of offspring. In his highly popularized book, *Marriage and Morals,* the obsequious disciple of Westermarck states dogmatically: "The family is a prehuman institution whose biological justification is that the help of the father during pregnancy and lactation tends to the survival of the young." Although inseparably linked to the family, marriage in no wise pertains to its constitution, since the family, preexisting whatever form of social institution, gives root to marriage, much like the egg giving rise to the chicken. On the authority of Westermarck, therefore, marriage must be said to be rooted in the family, rather than the family in marriage as traditional philosophers reasoned.

Having established the fundamental principle of his teaching, Russell finds ease in attributing the custom of marriage not exclusively to human beings, but primarily to animals. "Animals practice what is virtually marriage," he contends with daring,

" wherever the cooperation of the male is necessary to the rearing of the young." Any experience with animal habits would seem to bear him out on this point, for anthropoid apes continue to live together upon mating, and a similar situation prevails among various birds, where two mutually exclusive tasks, as are keeping the eggs warm and foraging after food for many hours of the day, render the participation of the male an indispensable condition for the preservation of the species.

More significantly, brute practices incline towards rigid monogamy, so much so in fact, that anthropoid apes display far superior fidelity to their mates than do most men. According to certain authorities, as soon as two apes mate, male and female cease at once to attract or to be attracted by any other member of the brute kingdom. Their subsequent union, wrapped firmly around the innate tendency to remain loyal forever, partakes of an indissoluble character, inviolable by intrusions from without and escapades from within. Birds, on the other hand, do not as a rule remain together longer than the time required for the adequate upbringing of the young, which in all but a few instances lasts well past birth.

An almost identical state of affairs obtains among the lowest races of savages, Russell points out immediately, as if to emphasize the close overlapping in the cataclysmic transformation by which beast turned man. Bushmen, for example, are known to have practiced strict monogamy. The extinct Thesmanians adhered to unbending loyalty. Westermarck unearthed enough evidence to classify the Andamese and the Veddahs as observers of lifelong faithfulness, all of which should be apparent from *a priori* arguments, without heaping up historical data, since not only man himself but even his dispositions, attitudes, likes and dislikes tumbled down from the non-human animal world in the hypothesis of evolution.

One with the whole school of evolutionary thought thus far, Russell introduces a point of divergence by manipulating the facts a little to his own advantage. Primitive monogamy, in spite of being the first and universal form, witnessed a combination of circumstances wholly different from those affecting it at present. It was matriarchical, moreover matrilineal. The mother ruled the household, and descent was traced through the female line. The father's role, since he also had one,

consisted principally in the help, economic and protective, which he was forced by custom to contribute towards the rearing and education of the children. All other spheres of activity transcended his powers, for the simple reason that he was not considered an instrumental cause of generation. Illustrative of this incredible fact is the belief extant among a certain group of savages, as recorded by Bernard Malinowski.

"The Melanesians," he writes, "do not know that people have fathers, yet among them fathers are at least as fond of their children as they are where they know them to be their children." Impossible as the belief appears, these supposedly stupid people profess an actual intervention of unknown spirits, who are said to insert offspring into the wombs of mothers. Any serious scholar would be prompted immediately to brush away the belief as a possible parallel to the current fable about storks delivering blessed events, but Malinowski, who conducted a scrupulous survey on the Trobriand Islands, discovered to his shocking amazement that the Islanders would not be persuaded paternity was something real and natural.

In view of such obstinate proof the best to which Malinowski, with Russell trailing closely behind, could bring himself is to conclude that "all mankind must have passed through the same stage, since there must have been a period when paternity was nowhere recognized." In other words, a time must have occurred in man's history when fathers, in the sense of progenitors, did not exist at all, when husbands were not recognized as having any blood relationship with the children, when no one thought a child to be the result of a human function. Thus, for lack of fathers authority devolved upon the mother, or upon the maternal uncle, whatever a maternal uncle could be taken to mean, when the mother became incapacitated or departed from life. Most evolutionists refuse to concede any such thing, because the historical fact is seriously questioned.

In order to explain away the gradual overthrow of his weakly-constructed matriarchy, Russell resorts to a good deal of fanciful reverie. "Marriage customs," he begins by way of a preliminary, "have always been a blend of three factors, which may be loosely called instinctive, economic, and religious respectively." The instinctive factor, however, fails in every way to merit the glorified position given it by theological fancymen. It has been taken for granted that the sexual urge and

the act itself influence men on the order of an innate tendency. The fact of the matter is quite different. Any physician who has given over some time to the consultation room can, drawing on the testimony of his clientele, explode this erroneous conviction to bits. With a frequency that is above normal doctors are approached by marriageable boys and girls, particularly the latter, who confess absolute ignorance of sexual matters, seeking advice not only regarding the execution of the act but even concerning the organs to be employed. Resultingly, experience becomes imperative, which, incidentally, figures as one of the reasons why Russell counsels premarital relations for the youth.

Secondly, it has been taken for granted that paternity is directed by nature towards one's own issue. Neither is this persuasion true to fact, as the example of the Melanesians, who have no fathers, demonstrates with uncompromising clarity. Because of the close physical tie, at least up to the time of weaning, a mother's feeling towards her child can be understood without difficulty. "But the relation of a father to child, in that part of it which depends upon physiological parenthood, is indirect, hypothetical, and inferential," being bound up with a host of unreliable beliefs. Its rise is best explained by the concurrence of two related influences, namely: the intimate association with the mother and child, enjoined by custom, evokes a certain sense of attachment to the child; secondly, the mere fact of caring for a child causes affection to grow up, and this affection receives added reinforcement whenever the child happens to be the product of a dearly beloved woman.

Just as quickly as the father awakens to the realization that his instrumental causality brought a new life upon the earth, as he must eventually, he becomes dominated by the love of power and the desire to survive death. Where paternity gropes in ignorance the child belongs to the mother or the maternal uncle. The father's interest in the child centers solely around affection, but when he discovers the child to be bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, he then turns mother and child into valuable property for himself.

Further, the child becomes after a fashion the incarnation of the father, and the father's life, as it were, continues through the achievements of the grown child. Ambition no more confines itself to mortal existence, because it extends indefinitely beyond the grave in the form of descendants. Resultingly,

the egoism aroused in the father by the sense of ownership and the assurance that he can survive death through countless generations makes him greatly interested in his fatherhood. He strives to establish it with all certainty, to secure it firmly, so as to preclude any possibility of falsifying descent or being deceived into lavishing affection and care upon a putative child. To that end he sets up all manner of safeguards, the principal one being to insist upon his wife's virtue. "Hence, the discovery of fatherhood," Russell concludes, "led to the subjection of women as the only means of securing their virtue—a subjection first physical and then mental, which reached its heights in the Victorian age."

How the father managed to lift himself up by the bootstraps and saddle himself on the throne of authority Russell is not ready to explain. Suffice it to say that throughout the matriarchal stage women enjoyed unlimited freedom in their actions, sowing oats wildly and reaping bumper harvests in turn, as contradictory as it is to the incontrovertible evidence marshalled in favor of primitive monogamy. Patriarchal usurpation of jurisdiction not merely curtailed these liberties but even extinguished them altogether. And rightly so, because without security in the important matter of progeny "the patriarchal family would have been impossible, and fatherhood, with all its economic implications, could not have become the basis of social institutions."

The discovery of paternity and the resultant subjection of women exhaust the instinctive factor. Accompanying both is the religious element. The father possesses valuable property, but his hold on it feels unstable. Through the instrumentality of religion he seeks to fortify his grip by causing mother and child "to have a sense of duty towards him," a need which he experiences by reason of property rights and likewise by reason of his welfare in old age. Youthful and vigorous in manhood, he wears out piecemeal from toil, thus becoming decrepit later in life. Meanwhile the children bristle with bloom and vitality. "At this stage," Russell contends in full justice, "it is vitally essential to his happiness that they should reverence him." And religion executes the task with magical flourish. Viewed in such a light the fourth commandment appears to be deceitfully phrased. "It should run: Honor thy father and thy mother that their days may be long in the land."

Another way in which religion influences the father's position is by upholding the economic system. A numerous progeny during patriarchal times meant as much to the head of a household as a car in the garage and a chicken in the work-pail, because the " multiplication of sons was as advantageous as the multiplication of flocks and herds." The more numerous the progeny, the bulkier the coffers. Probably the sole reason why Yahveh ordered men to increase and multiply, Russell thinks, derived fundamentally from the great advantages accruing to landowners with sturdy sons.

Finally, the greatest modification of marriage customs resulted from the economic and agricultural conditions of early communities. " Slave labor was, for the most part, unavailable, and therefore the easiest way to acquire laborers was to breed them." In order to make the children obey and work in the extensive fields, the whole sanction of religion and morals was turned towards the family. Rich in material wealth, secure in the satisfaction of surviving death, easy in mind concerning his wife's virtue, and shielded against mistreatment in old age, the father saw that the custom was good. So he consented to carry on with it, thereby strengthening not only his power but more particularly the family.

All this reached its maximum in most civilized countries, according to Russell, just before the dawn of historical records. That is a very remarkable period to select, no doubt. Thenceforth an opposite reaction occurred, causing such decay in the patriarchal family as to leave a mere shadow of what it had once been. Of the debilitating causes the most prominent appeared in the industrial revolution. The right of young people to marry one they chose rather than someone designated beforehand by the parents ran a close second. Next came the action of the State, which, besides abolishing the father's power of life and death, took over the financial obligations of the breadwinner to a great extent, providing food, clothing, medical care, and school wherever needed. The hardest blow landed with the invention of contraceptives, by means of which the size of families fell under control when children turned out to be a burden instead of an asset. Marriage is on the wane and before long will be spoken of in the past tense. Thus argues the evolutionist.

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A CONVERT'S VIEW.

One who has been a Protestant, having come from outside and not forgetting the external view of the Faith which he once had, may often see matters that to a Catholic born are too familiar to be seen. Two such matters I would like to mention.

First, with regard to the wider use of the Breviary among the laity: no doubt this is a good thing among those who are leisured enough to be able to say the whole Office. But what of those—far more numerous—who can only say a part? In such cases, some psalms are said regularly: others, which are just as good, just as much inspired by the Holy Spirit—these are never read, only and precisely because they come in the parts which are not said. Such a proceeding is neither intelligent nor really reverent. Few of the laity can settle down to the whole Office, and for the majority there should be a less ambitious scheme of Psalmody. In my family we have psalms morning and evening, chosen week by week, according to the Church's season: every psalm is said at least twice in the course of the year: and I think that in that way we get more good from them than by the more frequent repetition of the limited number contained in two or three of the hours. After all, the Breviary was intended for the religious, and the laity *are* the laity, not religious of an inferior sort.

Further, supposing even that the whole of the Breviary is read regularly: what about the rest of the Old Testament? Except for certain portions at certain seasons, it is little represented. While for the multitude who do not say even a part, the divine Oracles might never have foretold the coming of the Saviour. We too often forget that both Breviary and Missal are a mere remnant of the more systematic and complete use of Scripture which was customary in early times. What would our remote ancestors, with their long Masses and their numer- out readings of the Old Testament, think of our one verse introits and our virtual exile of the rest of that Testament from our service of sacrifice? To refer again to my own family's use, as we are in the unhappy situation of being very far from a church, and having a chance of attending Mass only a few times in the year, we join in the Sacrifice in spirit and take our spiritual communion every Sunday—as well as upon the

principal saints days and upon those of lesser saints to whom one or other of us has a special devotion. And in so doing, on each occasion we have three Old Testament lections, from the historical, prophetic, and instructional books—appropriate to the day if possible, but if not, according to a regular scheme: and the form is so arranged that when we have the happiness of attending Mass in body, then these three readings are included with our preparation for Mass. By this means we make a devotional use of the outstanding parts of the whole Old Testament once a year. While the gaps left in the Gospel narrative and the teachings of the epistles, after all the "Gospels and Epistles" of the year have been read, are taken care of by readings at our family prayers on Wednesday and Friday evenings.

My second point is the relative absence of the intercessory element from most suggestions for private prayers. This would not matter if we were all saints, and thus impelled to intercession: unfortunately, we are not: and the omission of any necessary element of prayer from our fixed outline too often means that it is omitted altogether—if we expand, we expand what we already have, and do not introduce fresh heads of devotion. The fixed outlines are skimpy enough: there is ample room, without over-burdening anyone, for the main topics of world-wide prayer (not to mention the devotional use of the ideas of the Mystical Body and of the growth of the "alter Christus" within us). And the omission of all this simply means that less enterprising souls—in other words, *most* souls —are deprived of a valuable means of spiritual growth: while the world has to get on without the spiritual influence that their intercessions might bring.

As I have indicated, it seems to me that the reasons for the defects which I have mentioned are historical. In the first place, it appears that services have been simplified and shortened without it being noticed that their Scriptural balance had thereby been destroyed. And in the second place, in the formative period of devotional practice there did not exist the class of educated but non-leisured people which now forms the bulk of the laity. The different traditional forms are suited only to uneducated laymen, who cannot be expected to be aware of happenings in the wider world; and to religious, who may be reasonably expected to provide for themselves both more

extensive Bible reading and intercessory schemes of prayer. I would suggest that it is high time that the educated but uninstructed laity (and almost all the laity are sufficiently educated for this purpose; while all too many are in this sense uninstructed)—that this very numerous class were provided with some devotional aids to making the spiritual treasures of the Scripture their own; and to their taking an effective part in prayer for this wicked and misguided world.

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THE MONSTRANCE VEIL.

Qu. 1) Is it a preceptive rubric to have the monstrance covered with a veil as long as the Blessed Sacrament is not inside the lunula?

2) What material does this veil, if prescribed, have to be? Is transparent fabric prescribed?

3) Does this veil have to cover the whole upper part of the monstrance on both sides, i. e., front and rear? What about a veil on the front only?

4) Is it a rule to have the monstrance standing on the altar at a right angle to the edge of the altar while the monstrance is empty?

Resp. The direction to have the monstrance or ostensorium covered with a white veil when it is placed on the altar either before or after exposition is founded on a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, n. 4268, as VII, published on May 27, 1911. There is doubt whether a direction of this kind is to be held as preceptive, since authorities are in disagreement on the matter. In his work, "The Rubrics of the Roman Ritual", Father O'Kane devotes several pages in the Introduction to this subject. The decree in question simply states that a white veil is to be used and no mention of material is made. The priest is free to have any suitable cloth or fabric. Neither is any mention made about its form. The point to keep in mind is that the vessel itself is to be covered in such a manner that it is not seen by the faithful. There is no rule about its position on the altar before or after Benediction. Some prefer it to be placed in such a way that its face is parallel to the edge of the mensa; others, perhaps the majority in this country, stand it at right angles to the edge of the altar. It may be carried to the altar just before the Host is taken from the tabernacle and carried away, to

the credence table, after the Host is placed in the tabernacle at the close of the ceremony. This would be done by the master of ceremonies. The actual number of rubrics for Benediction is few; the priest must follow custom and the canons of good taste to a great extent.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

In "The Juridical Position of a Religious Order" (May 1943) Father Edward Roelker remarks that "No religious order or society has ever been suppressed without cause." As the suppression of the Society of Jesus was much the most remarkable act of the sort, at least in common knowledge, the reference is more than likely to be taken as involving the Jesuits. The circumstances are likely to make that reference seem to many an accusation.

Of course it is true that "No religious order or society was ever suppressed without cause," just as it is true that no human action was ever performed without cause; in human conduct there is no motiveless—and therefore causeless—acting. Thus Pope Clement XIV in suppressing the Society of Jesus certainly had a motive; but that his motive implied no condemnation of the Society is evident, for example, from the following words of our present Holy Father Pius XII, spoken to the Society of Jesus, 27 April, 1941:

> To think, to feel, to labor with the Church and the Vicar of Christ; that has been the duty and the cherished task to which the Society of Jesus for four centuries, from the time of Ignatius, has dedicated itself and from which it has never swerved. Nothing could ever shake its allegiance, not even when under the pressure of the unjust and envious secular forces of the times, in a sea of dark forebodings, a Father's sovereign hand sacrificed it for the tranquility of the bark of Peter. It was true unto death in those days, and when it again came into being, it continued true to its high purpose.

Since Father Roelker's well meant remark was so easily open to sinister misinterpretation, it would be a comfort to such Jesuits as I to have published this slight clarification of the status of our forefathers of sorrowful though glorious memory.

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Book Reviews

GILBERT KEITH CHESTERTON. By Maisie Ward. Sheed & Ward, New York City. 1943. Pp. xv + 685. Illustrated. Price, $4.50.

This is an excellent Christmas gift for any truly literate person. The book is quite British and therefore probably better interprets that great Englishman who was Chesterton.

Mrs. Sheed presents a sympathetic picture of the great modern " Defender of the Faith ", his spiritual evolution, his apparent contradictions, his oddnesses, his great love for his fellow men. Her personal friendship with Chesterton and her personal knowledge of the man, his writings and aspirations made possible this biography which will undoubtedly be the standard " life " for many years.

Not the least stimulating feature of this *vita* is the large selection of letters and excerpts. Particularly interesting are the letters exchanged with Wells and Shaw, and the reader will be delighted with the page of ms. altered—and improved—by Bernard Shaw. GKC's darkly prophetic Open Letter to Lord Reading is a terrific arraignment of the sins of international financiers. The complete and impartial account of the libel action that Godfrey Isaacs won against Cecil Chesterton was written by Frank Ward because of his legal training. Mrs. Ward takes sharp exception to the seeming disparagements contained in *The Chestertons*, but these reproofs are the least satisfactory passages.

This life of a truly Catholic gentleman will cheer and delight the reader. It will also provide food for thought, and will send one back to re-read Chesterton with a new understanding even though the main events of the book are already well known.

ST. CHARLES SEMINARY OVERBROOK. By Reverend George E. O'Donnell. Jefferies & Manz, Philadelphia 6, Pa. 1943. Pp. ix + 401. Price, $3.00.

This is more than a carefully written, accurate history of the Philadelphia archdiocesan seminary; it is a chronicle of the priesthood in that great archdiocese. Written for Philadelphia priests and people, it will be studied carefully by those interested in church history, and be a mine of information for future church historians.

The eleven chapters of seminary history are followed by appendices and lists containing valuable historical information. One important

list contains the name of every priest who served the diocese, with date and place of ordination, name of ordaining prelate, and date of death of those who are deceased. Probably the most unusual feature of the volume is the inclusion of the pictures of the 1121 living diocesan priests. Each picture is 1¼x1½ inches, under which is given name, date of ordination, and benefice in the case of pastors. The cuts are exceptionally clear, and this section is an excellent example of editorial and technical skill.

This book is the best of its kind to come to our attention in recent years. Dr. O'Donnell and his collaborators are to be congratulated upon producing such an outstanding piece of local ecclesiastical history.

THE SOCIAL MESSAGE OF JESUS. By Igino Giordani. Translated by Alba I. Zizzamia, LL.D. St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J. 1943. Pp. xi + 406.

For this book and *The Social Message of the Apostles,* which is soon to follow in translation, Dr. Giordani received the *Premio Savoia-Brabante* for excellence in the field of history. It is precise, erudite, scholarly, and English-speaking readers are fortunate that Dr. Zizzamia undertook the difficult work of translation. The rendering into English is well done, although there are a few stilted passages.

Dr. Giordani first presents the historical background in outline. He then takes up the Christian revolution, presenting our Lord's teachings on the human person, the laws of justice and love, the family, established authority, wealth and the ownership of property, labor and wages, the health of society, war and peace, universality and patriotism. There is a fair index, but the bibliography is quite disappointing.

There is much sound thinking and many quotable passages in this excellent volume. The section on war and peace in the chapter " The Health of Society " is particularly opportune in these days. For example: " It might be said that there is a conflict between the peace of Christ and the peace of the world. The former is an inner thing, rooted in the spirit; the latter is external, bound up with the weapons of coercion. The first is substantial because it derives from the harmonious relations of the conscience with God and man . . . and is beyond reach of all attacks from without. The second is either the peace of the grave or a desert waste, attained by fire, rapine and death, or it is the result of a victory which bends but does not break the enemy, which knows no laughter and has only a derisive grin for his blood and tears, which is convulsed with fear of reprisals and treachery or is the hypocritical cloak of jealousy and hatred."

This is an invaluable reference book for the preacher and student of sociology, and it would not be a dust-gatherer on the shelf of the study club library.

THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE CRITICS. By Rev. J. Coppens. Translated by Edward A. Ryan, S.J., and Edward W. Tribbe, S.J. St. Anthony's Guild Press, Paterson, N. J. 1942. Pp. xvi + 167.

It is difficult to speak of this book without resorting to what may seem excessive employment of superlatives, thus giving the impression of unwarranted enthusiasm. It is seldom that one interested in the Old Testament meets with a book so concise in the presentation of content, so obviously scholarly in the strictest and best sense of the word, so thoroughly Catholic in tone, expression, and perception of the exact significance of ecclesiastical pronouncements, so fair in evaluating the achievements of biblical scholarship, so honestly aware of the problems which face the Catholic scholar, and at the same time so alive to present-day opportunities for progress in biblical research.

It has been the fashion among seminarians and priests to express surprise at the temerity of those who undertake to work in so perilous a field as Sacred Scripture is supposed to be. Whatever may have been the case some thirty or forty years ago, the author, a scholar of recognized merit, makes it clear that there is no such peril today. The Church is interested in truth and is not afraid of progress in any science. As for ecclesiastical directives, they are carefully worded, and the investigator must " understand them thoroughly, being careful neither to evade their implications, nor to exaggerate their scope, nor to turn them into a rigid and standardized canon of interpretation."

The book is divided into three chapters. The first outlines the history of critical exegesis from its beginnings to classical Wellhausenism and its developments. The second chapter points out the leading reactions to classical Wellhausenism, notes the principal new literary results, and suggests what may one day be adopted in independent circles as their synthesis of the history of Israel. The concluding chapter, entitled " The Future ", describes the present position of O.T. historical criticism after the reactions it has provoked, and considers what can be the attitude of Catholic exegesis in the face of these reactions and of the partial failure of classical Wellhausenism. The bibliography and biographical notes are very valuable.

The reviewer urges everyone interested in biblical studies to acquire this book and to study it carefully.

ROOTS OF BERGSON'S PHILOSOPHY. By Ben-Ami Scharfstein. Columbia University Press, New York. 1943. Pp. x + 146.

This study deals with the immediate scientific and philosophical environs of Bergsonism. The sources and influences which, manifestly or probably, determined Bergson's ideas are analyzed in five chapters each of which considers a particular aspect of Bergson's philosophy: his views on time, the notion of intuition, his relations to psychology and to biology, his moral and religious philosophy.

Since the topic is one of history, the chief tenets of Bergsonism are presupposed. The reader will not find here an introduction into or an analysis of the philosophy under consideration. To anyone interested in the sequence of ideas and the many-fold intricate relations obtaining between the different philosophical systems, this little book will prove valuable. The author maintains throughout the position of the objective student of history. Although he is obviously favorably inclined towards Bergsonian philosophy, he denies that Bergson was original in the sense of having created truly new ideas, with the exception perhaps of his *Matter and Memory*. But he had an eminent gift to synthesize the currents of thought alive in his times. He is representative of the culture in which his ideas originated.

There is one interesting passage of biographical intent. Bergson came from a wealthy Jewish family, originally of Poland. When close to eighty he wrote in his will, dated 1937, that his reflections had led him closer and closer to Catholicism. He did not want to join the Church, however, because he " wanted to remain among those who tomorrow will be persecuted. But I hope that a Catholic priest will consent, if the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris authorizes it, to come to say prayers at my funeral ". The author remarks that this request was observed. According to apparently reliable information, however, Bergson died a Catholic.

SAINT TERESA OF AVILA. By William Thomas Walsh. Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee. 1943. Pp. ix + 592.

A saint's biography running through six hundred pages is ordinarily not an inviting article of either sacerdotal or lay reading diet. But make the subject Teresa of Avila, put the biographical details in the hands of so competent a story-teller as William Thomas Walsh, and you have a book whose principal fault is found, paradoxically, in its brevity.

Perhaps the use of an approach to the form of the novel with beckoning chapter titles leading the reader on, has much to do with the presentation not only of the life data but also of the character of

Teresa in so acceptable a fashion. Perhaps, too, the author's wise personal investigation of source material instead of the usual dependence upon translations has helped him to present a developing saint rather than an already haloed image.

The title fairly describes the subject matter of the book. It is the life story of Teresa of Avila with all the dates and data the historian can demand. It describes also the background from which Teresa emerged, the characters and persons with whom she came into contact —and into conflict, the scenes which throw into high relief her greatness, her struggles towards sainthood and her unconquerable strength in surmounting the obstacles in the path of that great goal of her life. There is no dryness in all this, and an occasional dull paragraph can be laid to the necessity of including some biographical fact the absence of which would have been noted in the completed picture.

Walsh's Teresa of Avila is an all-around book—a book to keep and to give, a book to read and for reference, a book for pleasure and for benefit, a book for religious and for laity, a real book, which in today's plethora of printed pages is a rarity.

MARRIAGE LAWS IN THE BIBLE AND THE TALMUD. By Louis M. Epstein, L.H.D., D.D., Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1942. Pp. x + 362.

The author attempts " to present a comprehensive survey of Jewish law on the subject of marriage as it developed historically from the beginning of our records to the present day." " The material contained . . . comes directly from primary sources, biblical, apocryphal, and rabbinic writings."

The author discusses polygamy, concubinage, levirate, intermarriage, incest, and, with a view to completeness, other marriage prohibitions. In each instance he examines the biblical teaching and its subsequent development by the rabbis, with frequent reference to Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Greek, and Roman parallels or influences. Well documented, the book is also furnished with a good bibliography, an index of subjects and names, and a register of many legal terms that have no exact English equivalent. The terms in the register are sufficiently explained when they first occur, but for those not familiar with them it obviates the necessity of looking up their precise meaning in the passages where they had been defined.

For the most part Dr. Epstein maintains an objective, dispassionate, sharply critical attitude. He moves with an amazing legal sureness, aware of the most delicate shades of difference in the opinions of the rabbis, and is skilled in presenting them to the reader. One may regret that he did not devote a chapter to divorce, but the index points

out the pertinent passages where the subject is discussed. Everyone interested in Judaica will find the book both helpful and interesting.

In handling Christian sources the author betrays a lack of understanding and appreciation of their contents, and employs them in rather arbitrary fashion. Thus I Tim. 3:2 and Tit. 1:6 are interpreted as forbidding simultaneous polygamy to bishops (p. 10), and by inference of permitting it to laymen (p. 15). Christianity "made a policy of monogamy but did not bring it down to legal teaching" (p. 14). It "taught that marriage in itself was a compromise with the flesh and sinful" (p. 14). I Cor. 7:2 is rejected as proof for monogamy. "Adultery" in Matt. 19:9 and Mk. 10:11 is taken to mean "sexual sin" (p. 14). It "certainly cannot mean adultery in the technical legal sense" (p. 15). This criticism and others that can be made are minor to the work, and do not detract from its general, consistent excellence in matters in which the author is a specialist.

Book Notes

Rejoicing in letters of recommendation from Their Excellencies, Archbishops Strich, Cantwell, Floersch and Beckman, and Bishops Buddy and Riley, *Holy Hour* by Father Mateo Crawley-Boevey is a collection of twenty-one holy hours for the first Fridays of each month, the New Year, the feast of Christ the King, on the Passion, for Holy Thursday, for Apostles of the Sacred Heart, religious communities, for the suffering, friends of the Sacred Heart and a holy hour on the social reign of the Sacred Heart.

Father Matheo, a native of Peru and the apostle of the Enthtronement of the Sacred Heart of Jesus writes in simple but impassioned prose. Priests will find the *Holy Hour* helpful in increasing their personal devotion and in conducting holy hours for their people. (National Center of the Enthronement, Fairhaven, Mass. Pp. 692. Price, $3.00.)

God Infinite, The World and Reason, by Rev. William J. Brosnan, S.J., complements his *God and Reason* and *God Infinite and Reason*. It is a formal presentation of seven theses concerned with the knowledge of God, the creative decree of God, the positive and direct conservation by God, divine concursus, divine Providence, and the problem of evil.

Father Brosnan takes cognizance of some of the moderns of various philosophic complexion, and his Introduction will have a general appeal. His use of the syllogistic method is likely to limit his audience to seminarians and college students. The thesis on the problem of evil is particularly well done. The bibliography, however, is disappointing. (Fordham University Press, New York. Pp. viii + 246.)

The popularity of C. S. Lewis' *The Screwtape Letters* has encouraged American publishers to bring out editions of his other books. *The Problem of Pain* was written three years ago in England. Dr. Lewis is an Anglican. In this presentation of a difficult question, he restates the traditional arguments of the problem of evil in a style that makes for very interesting reading, although the subject does not allow the zest and picturesque expression of his other books. The chapters on animal pain, in which he advances an hypothesis of satanic corruption of the beasts, and heaven are quite speculative. (The Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. ix + 148.)

An excellent study and an important one is Rev. Robert E. Regan's *Professional Secrecy in the Light of Moral Principles.*

In the first part of the dissertation, Dr. Regan discusses the nature of secrecy, the right to secrecy, the obliging force of secrets and causes permitting or necessitating appropriation of another's secrets. In Part II is taken up the nature of the professional secret, the basis of the moral obligation, the scope and what is necessary for establishing an obligation of professional secrecy and the malice involved in its violation, professional secrecy and the civil law, and necessary revelation of professional secrets. Part III discusses the viewpoint of the profession, and the moral and legal viewpoint of the medical secret, the legal secret, the extra-sacramental secret of the priest and the social worker's secret. A good index and bibliography add to the book's value.

Theological students will find this dissertation helpful and interesting; pastors and confessors will discover much of practical value. (Augustinian Press, Washington, D. C. Pp. xv + 221.)

E. I. Watkin's *The Praise of Glory* is an excellent examination and interpretation of the psalms and hymns of Lauds and Vespers. It will appeal particularly to priests and others who use the office as matter for meditation.

Dr. Watkin has a well balanced knowledge and understanding of the liturgy, but his style is somewhat involved. *The Praise of Glory* is not a popular exposition, but the material is well worth the serious application and thought that is required. (Sheed & Ward, New York City. Pp. 292. Price, $3.50.)

Papers presented and discussed at the U. of Toronto-Yale Conference, held in September 1939, are now available in *The North American Indian Today*, published by the University of Toronto Press. (Toronto, Canada. 1943. Pp. xi + 361. Price, $3.00.) The able editing was done by the late C. T. Loram and T. F. McIlwraith.

Ten chapters discuss the basis of Indian life, the impact of Europe, the Indian missionary, Indian government, arts and crafts, and the problems presented by education, laws, land and economics, health and race tension. The papers are by scholars and specialists from the United States and Canada. Father J. B. Tennelly presents a paper on Catholic, Indian Missions in the United States, and Brother Memorian discusses missions in Canada. This is an invaluable volume for those interested in Amerind problems.

Mr. David Hennessy, Maryfarm, R. 4, Easton, Pa., announces that on receipt of a stamped addressed envelope, he will send copies of the Eric Gill prayer card. The simple, austere little card was printed by Thomas Barry of The Sower Press.

The average priest's parochial duties make it necessary for him to know something about the nature of nervous and mental disorders, and as a result he is anxious to read the latest findings of Catholic psychiatrists. Rev. Thomas V. Moore's latest volume, *The Nature and Treatment of Mental Disorders* can be of help, especially those chapters on family problems, problems of married life and reorganizations. The chapter on Bibliotherapy is interesting, but the reader will wish additional case histories were given.

The study is based principally on research conducted at the Child Clinic of the Catholic University of America. As Director of the Clinic, Dr. Moore made use of " whatever is available in psychology or physiology to clarify the concept of mental disorder or ameliorate any abnormal condition of the human mind." As he points out at the close of this study, that period in the history of psychiatry is coming to a close in which a psychiatrist could afford to adopt an organic-neurological or an exclusively psychogenic theory and neglect the work in all schools but his own.

Parts of the volume are a bit too technical for the average priest, but those who have had some training or who have done some reading in psychiatry and psychology will find it very useful. (Grune & Stratton, New York. Pp. viii + 312.)

Small Talks for Small People by Rev. Thomas J. Hosty is a collection of forty short talks for youngsters that have been actually used and found successful. Some of the words seem a bit advanced for little ones, and some priests may not

like his use of "dumb" for stupid and other "down to the level" expressions, but these can easily be changed. Any priest who uses a sermon from a book "as is" is "dumb." We like Father Hosty's use of the interrogatory method. (Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee. Pp. 136.)

The Dominican House of Studies at Washington presents as the first number of "Thomistic Studies", *The Morality of Imperfections* by Rev. James C. Osbourn, O.P. Casuistry is declared to be a species of smug rationalism or moral sophistry relying on mechanical rules chiefly of human invention. The voluntarist, on the other hand, the author argues, sets up "close affinities with moral subjectivism and anti-intellectualism" and is equally insecure and untenable.

The author follows the usual dissertation style, first presenting an historical outline, stating the question and giving the affirmative and negative positions. This is followed by the Suarezian theory and the principles of St. Vincent Ferrer, St. John of the Cross and other Masters of the Spiritual Life. The third section, covering more than half the volume, presents St. Thomas' solution and shows that with the exception of the Salmanticenses, all of the major Thomists stand with the Angelic Doctor "against the doctrine of positive moral imperfections and on the side of Christian prudence."

The Morality of Imperfections is an excellent beginning of what promises to be an outstanding contribution to theological science. (1943. Pp. xiii + 247.)

The Apostle of Alaska is Sister M. Mildred's translation of Maurice de Baets' *Vie de Monseigneur Seghers*. The Belgian-born archbishop was one of the outstanding missionaries to come to the New World, and his assassination by a crazed companion, who was probably instigated by enemies of religion, was a serious loss to religion. The author, a kinsman of the missionary prelate, had access to his diary and was acquainted with his early life. Sister Mildred's rendering is well done. (St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J. Pp. xi + 292.)

Real Life Stories, edited by Father Winfrid Herbst, S.D.S., is a collection of twenty short biographies of good children of our own time. The biographies have various authors, mostly nuns, and are not at all critical. The stories appeared in *Manna*. They should be helpful to catechetical teachers in the grade schools. (Salvatorian Seminary Press, St. Nazianz, Wis. Pp. viii + 168.)

The House of Bread by C. J. Eustace is a personal essay in which the author informally describes his thirteen years as a Catholic, and the "essential and necessary things concerning life" he learned from the Church. The autobiographical part is interesting, and practically all of it will be instructive for the priest who is anxious that his converts persevere. A classified reading list is well selected and will be helpful in convert work.

Mr. Eustace writes logically and his style is clear and easy to read. This is a very worthwhile "convert book". (Longmans, Green & Co., New York City. Pp. x + 159.)

Another convert book is *Her Glimmering Tapers* by Louis Joseph Stancourt, author of *A Flower for Sign*. Written in diary form, the main part of the book covers a novena in honor of the Queen of the Rosary held in a parish church and describes the feelings aroused in the author.

It is an unusual book, extremely emotional, yet written in simple and direct language. Addressed to the layman, it should provide many a starting point for fruitful private meditation. (The Macmillan Co., New York. Pp. viii + 180.)

Father Godfrey Poage, C.P., has written a pamphlet on the vocation to the priesthood and religious life that is the best of its kind that has come to our attention. The sections of *Follow Me* which refer to diocesan activities were written under the supervision of members of the diocesan clergy. Text and illustrations give the youthful reader a very good idea of seminary life and work in the ministry. An excellent feature is an appendix outlining the various kinds of work performed by diocesan priests, religious priests and brothers and giving the address of the superior from whom further information may be obtained.

We suggest that priests interested in fostering vocations obtain a copy of

this pamphlet. After examining it, we feel sure they will order copies for distribution. A similar work for girls' vocations, entitled *Follow Him*, is planned for the near future. (Thomas More Book Shop, Chicago 3, Ill. Pp. 64. Price, 10c.)

The White Canons of St. Norbert by Rev. Cornelius Kirkfleet, O.Praem., is a well written history of the Premonstratensian Order in the United States, Ireland and Great Britain. The volume marks the eighth centenary of the establishment of the Order in Britain (1143), and the centenary of its coming to this country.

While the growth and development of the American foundation is recent, the Canons Regular of Prémontré have a rich tradition. Father Kirkfleet presents an outline of studies and sources that is interesting in itself, and will be exceedingly valuable when the Order's early history in English-speaking countries is published in detail. Not much is known by American priests of the Premonstratensian Canons because of the lack of literature on the Order. Father Kirkfleet has made a good beginning with this volume. (St. Norbert Abbey, West De Pere, Wis. Pp. xxv + 308. Price, $2.50.)

Father John A. O'Brien of Notre Dame University has completed a revision of his *The Priesthood in a Changing World*. It has been brought up to date, and the Encyclical on the Priesthood by Pope Pius XI is given in full. This new edition is likely to be as popular with priests and seminarians as was the first edition. (St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson, N. J. Pp. xv + 325.)

Maryknoll Mission Letters Vol. I, 1943 are as stimulating as those that have gone before. A number of the letters tell of war experiences in the Orient. Father Carroll's diary giving the high lights of six months' internment in Korea is particularly inspiring. The REVIEW takes pride in the fact that years ago it introduced Maryknoll Mission Letters to the priests of America, and is pleased to recommend this new series to its readers. (Field Afar Press, Maryknoll, N. Y. Pp. viii + 55. Price, 50c.)

The author of *Splendor of Sorrow*, Eddie Doherty, is an editor on the *Chicago Sun*. His English style is forceful and vivid, but it is far from "journalese". He will surprise our priest readers by his ability to write of the spiritual with discernment and depth. This little book develops the story of the Seven Sorrows of our Blessed Mother in a way that will be interesting to laymen as well as priests and religious. (Sheed & Ward, New York. Pp. 80. Price, $1.50.)

The author of *From the Morning Watch*, Lucille Papin Borden, under the guidance of the spirit of a Capuchin friar, is brought to the Holy Land and witnesses the tragic drama of our Lord's trial and passion. It is a nice piece of imaginative writing but the style is much more difficult to follow than that usually found in this type of book. We believe this book should carry an *Imprimatur*. (The Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. ix + 213.)

Chats With Prospective Converts by Rev. M. D. Forrest, M.S.C., is written in the form of chats with a prospective convert. In thirty chapters, the chief doctrines of Catholicity are presented in content and terms that the average person can understand. Father Forrest has done a good job, and while the book is no better than many others of its kind, priests will find it helpful in their convert work. (Radio Replies Press, St. Paul 1, Minn. Pp. x + 197.)

This Way Out by Rev. Clarence Duffy is a collection of 28 essays on religious, social and economic questions. The style is simple and direct, and there is a great deal of material that parish priests will find helpful. The final essay, "Labor Unions", makes suggestions to which most priests will subscribe. For instance, election to office in a union would be dependent upon the votes of at least 75% of the membership present and officials would be subject to recall upon demand of two-thirds of the members; funds of the union would be utilized for the benefit of the members and their families; employment agencies should be operated by each union. The book does not bear an Imprimatur. (The Catholic Worker, New York 13, N. Y. Pp. 74. Illustrated.)

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THE SINGLE WOMAN. By Ruth Reed, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York City. 1942. Pp. xiv + 227. Price, $2.00.

FOR GOODNESS SAKE! By Francis P. Donnelly, S.J. Fordham University Press, New York. 1943. Pp. v + 99. Price, 50c.

SPLENDOR OF SORROW. By Eddie Doherty. Sheed & Ward, New York City. 1943. Pp. iv + 79. Price, $1.50.

SMALL TALKS FOR SMALL PEOPLE. By Rev. Thomas J. Hosty. Bruce Publishing Co., Milwaukee. 1943. Pp. 136. Price, $1.75.

THE VIRGIN OF NAZARETH AND OTHER POEMS. By Rev. John J. Rauscher, S.M. Benziger Brothers, New York City. 1943. Pp. 175. Price, $2.00.

THE PROBLEM OF PAIN. By C. S. Lewis. The Macmillan Company, New York 11, N. Y. 1943. Pp. ix + 148. Price, $1.50.

THE SYNTAX OF THE GESTA FRANCORUM. By Rev. John J. Gavigan, Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore 2, Md. 1943. Pp. 102.

THE NATURE AND TREATMENT OF MENTAL DISORDERS. By Dom Thomas V. Moore. Foreword by Dr. Edward A. Strecker. Grune & Stratton, New York 16, N. Y. 1943. Pp. viii + 312. Price, $4.00.

THE PRIESTHOOD IN A CHANGING WORID. Revised Edition. By Rev. John A. O'Brien, Ph.D. St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson. 1943. Pp. xv + 326. Price, $2.00.

MARYKNOLL MISSION LETTERS. Vol. I, 1943. Field Afar Press, Maryknoll, N. Y. Pp. viii + 55. Price, 50c.

CHATS WITH PROSPECTIVE CONVERTS. By Rev. D. M. Forrest, M.S.C. Preface by Monsignor Fulton Sheen. Radio Replies Press, St. Paul 1, Minn. 1943. Pp. x + 197. Price, $1.00.

REAL LIFE STORIES. Real Life Stories of Good Boys and Girls. Edited by Rev. Winfrid Herbst, S.D.S. Salvatorian Seminary, St. Nazianz, Wis. 1943. Pp. viii + 168.

THE APOSTLE OF ALASKA. Life of Most Reverend Charles John Seghers. By Maurice de Baets. Translated by Sister Mary Mildred, S.S.A. St. Anthony Guild Press, Paterson. 1943. Pp. xi + 292. Price, $2.50.

PAMPHLETS.

Follow Me. A Pamphlet on Vocation to the Priesthood and Religious Life. By Godfrey Poage, C.P. Thomas More Book Shop, Chicago 3, Ill. 1943. Pp. 64. Illustrated. Price 10c.

The Music of Christmas Time. By Rev. Daniel Lord. The Queens' Work, St. Louis 8, Mo. Pp. 23. Price, 12c.

The Mysteries of Mary. Benedictine Convent of Perpetual Adoration, Clyde, Mo. Pp. 64. Price, 10c.

God's Troubadour and His Lady. By Augustine Hennessy, C.P. St. Anthony Guild, Paterson, N. J. Pp. 42. Price, 5c.

This Way Out. A Catholic Worker Pamphlet. By Rev. Clarence Duffy. The Catholic Worker Press, New York. 1943. Pp. 75. Price, 20c.

History of the Church of Christ. Text for Greek Catholic Parochial Schools. By Rev. Julius Grigassy, D.D. Translated by Rev. Michael B. Rapach. Prosvita-Enlightenment, McKeesport, Pa. Pp. 114.

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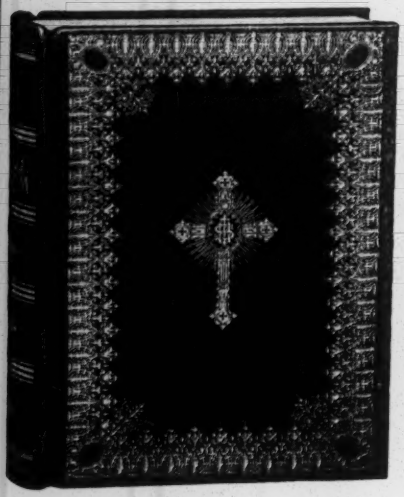

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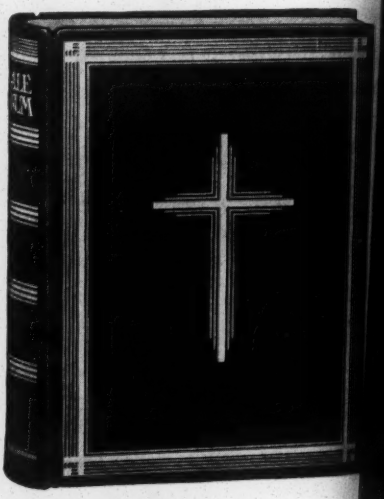

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EXTRA PAGE with marginal tab is added to the previous four pages (with tabs) of the Tabula Orationes, giving in a convenient place FIVE MORE SETS OF ORATIONS, including those from the Masses Pro Pace and Tempore Belli which are now used in many Dioceses as Orationes Imperatae.

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